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JULY 1, 1969

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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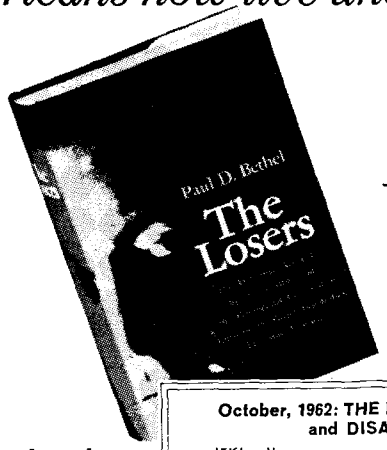

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ROBERT KENNEDY. The President's brother ran roughshod over the Joint Chiefs of Staff to give the Soviets **more** than they asked for.

ADLAI STEVENSON. His epicene tears helped snatch defeat from the jaws of victory at the Bay of Pigs.

HERBERT MATTHEWS. Who used **The New York Times**, the most powerful newspaper in the world, to camouflage the Communists and their plans for bloody revolution.

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- **Guevara's deals with U.S. Black Power leaders. Puerto Rico under the gun. Infiltrating U.S. Negro communities. Use of dope to finance revolution. Stokely Carmichael and the Tricontinental group. H. Rap Brown calls Havana.**
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FOR THE RECORD

■ About the New York elections: **John Lindsay** had three of the most prominent Republicans in the state manning his telephone hookups on the day before the primary, trying to bring out the voters: Sens. **Charles Goodell** and **Jacob Javits** and Attorney General **Louis Lefkowitz** (Rocky got out of it by flying down to Rio). . . . *Washington Post* in its sum-up of what could be expected ("Outlook" section, June 15) had this caption under **Mario Procaccino** (who ran first in the Democratic primary) ". . . tagged with a right-wing label, it is hurting him," and this one under **John Marchi,** ". . . sincere, colorless, he has failed to electrify the voters. . . ." A *Daily News* voter survey the week before the primary showed why John Lindsay did so poorly: 61 per cent of those who had voted for Lindsay in '65 rated his performance as "only fair" or "poor"; only 18 per cent of his '65 supporters thought he had done a good job. . . . **Jimmy Breslin**, who ran with **Norman Mailer**, and surprisingly, better than Mailer, apologized to the voters the night of the fiasco for "having participated in a process which required the bars be closed all day." Mailer, at his headquarters late Tuesday night, quipped that now the liberal Lindsay way had been tried, maybe the Right should have its crack at running New York City before turning it back to the machine pols. . . . Mailer-Breslin campaign, busting for funds at the end, auctioned off an old bra of **Christine Keeler** (of Profumo fame). It brought $7.50.

■ **SDS** finally did hold its national convention, ending up at the Chicago Coliseum after every campus it applied to turned it down. . . . According to last week's testimony before the **House Internal Security Committee,** SDS now has chapters on 317 campuses and a membership of six to eight thousand—but it can mobilize up to 35,000. . . . And it's powerful. At its national council meeting in Austin, Texas in March the SDS voted to sever all ties with the radical **Southern Student Organizing Committee** (SSOC). Last week the SSOC voted to dissolve; many of its members will join SDS. . . . Australian graduate student **Philip Sandford** has agreed to deportation procedures rather than serve out an eighteen-month

Jon, *Daily Mail*, London Ben Roth Agency

term for various SDS activities at Florida State. . . . Immigration authorities hope **Dr. George S. Haggar**, fired last month as an assistant professor at Southern University (New Orleans) for ditto, will take the hint. Haggar can be deported to Canada because the "purpose for which he entered the country has been served." (Well, sort of.)

■ Scoreboard at end of school year: half of the 3,747 students arrested on sixty campuses in the 1968-1969 school year have been freed; 534 have paid fines or been jailed, many still have not been tried. . . . More than seventy colleges and universities are looking for new presidents.

■ What do you know: **Jessica Mitford** (*The American Way of Death*) has written a new book on the Spock trial: Knopf will bring it out in the fall. . . . **Morton Sobell,** recently released from jail on probation (he was involved in Julius and Ethel Rosenberg case) is writing a book on his trial and imprisonment. Scribners, next spring. . . . **Jackie Robinson** turning up to the left of **Bayard Rustin**. Rustin had attacked black studies programs and cave-in by university administrators to black militant demands. Says Robinson of Rustin: "He is a man who wants to be a black leader but at the same time wants to curry favor with the whites."

■ Members of the Rumanian, Italian, French and Australian Communist parties objected in Moscow when asked to support the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia; not so **Gus Hall**, representing the CPUSA. . . . **Cheddi Jagan** formally enrolled his People's Progressive Party in the Communist fellowship of same in Moscow. When Jagan was premier of British Guiana it was forbidden to hint that he might be a Communist. . . . It apparently is true that the British government may exchange Soviet spies **Peter** and **Helen Kroger** (now serving 20-year sentences) for imprisoned British businessman **Gerald Brooke**. The Russians have threatened to re-try Brooke (now serving five years for distributing leaflets) on espionage charges (fifteen-year sentence) when his present sentence runs out: it could kill him.

■ Sen. **Mike Mansfield** has done everyone one better. What *he* calls it is: "The military-industrial-labor-academic-political complex."

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LETTERS

Nixon's Report Card

Report card for James Jackson Kilpatrick's "Report Card for Richard Nixon" [*NR*, June 3]: A+.

Wilmington, Del. NANCY SEAMAN

Mr. Kilpatrick was much too lenient in the grades he gave President Nixon. The grade that was particularly disturbing was the "A" President Nixon received for foreign policy. As a conservative, my understanding of the essence of conservative foreign policy has been the stressing of victory over Communism rather than coexistence with it. The President by his calls for arms negotiations and greater East-West cooperation has clearly demonstrated that he does not agree with the basic idea of conservative foreign policy.

Philadelphia, Pa. MICHAEL MCMONAGLE

Covers—Pro and Con

I am writing to ask: "Since when has the President of the United States had to be 'rated' by the conservatives—Buckley and others?" . . . It is further most interesting to note the "A" in "Deportment" and "Attitude"—come now, really—even the liberals give him that. All is forgiven, when you improve the front page—we really could do without that kind of thing.

Calais, Me. ERNEST W. FITZPATRICK

The June 17 cover is your funniest in ages. The Statue of Liberty will never be the same again!

St. Paul, Minn. JOHN ERICKSON

New Math?

From John Coyne's article on John Lindsay [*NR*, June 17]: "Between 1965 and 1968, according to HEW, the number of New York City welfare recipients rose 81 per cent from four hundred thousand to one million."

Try that statement on your friendly computer—or even on your old arithmetic teacher.

Kent, Conn. JAMES BURNHAM

Did Mr. Coyne go to a progressive school?

Blacksburg, Va. GORDON TULLOCK

Volunteer Soldiers?

May I respectfully suggest the arguments in favor of a "volunteer military" advocated here and there in *NR* are pernicious. What is needed is more nearly universal military conscription, in terms of professional groups if not individuals.

With respect to the hippie/yippie-con-

(Continues on page 624)

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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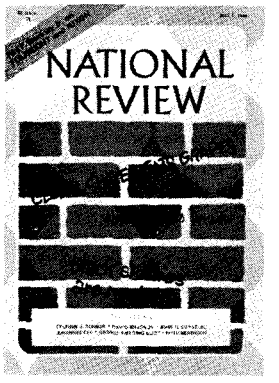
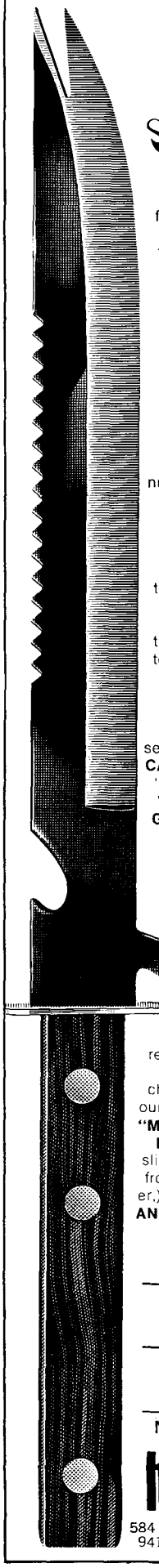
IN THIS ISSUE

■ "The most significant and I think perceptive analysis of what is wrong with our approach to higher education," said Richard Nixon recently of a speech by **Stephen J. Tonsor,** Professor of History at the U. of Michigan. In this issue Professor Tonsor expands his analysis, laying much of the blame for student unrest at the feet of proselytizing liberal academics. . . . Unruly students also continue to fascinate **David Brudnoy**, Brandeis Ph.D. candidate, who argues for sharper philosophic distinctions between SDSers and black militants. Such distinctions are necessary, he believes, if campus civil wars are to be contained. . . . **John R. Coyne Jr.**, former resident of California, returns to Delano to examine the unpublicized side of the grape controversy. . . . **Jon Basil Utley**, son of *la* Freda Utley (*The Dreams We Lost*, etc.), has spent the past ten years in Latin America in the investment and insurance business. He watched the Castro takeover in Cuba and believes that Peru may go the same way if the U.S. continues to follow its bumbling policies south of the border. . . . **Johannes Eff**, who this week speaks in tongues, also passes as John F. Kiley, author of *Einstein and Aquinas: A Rapprochement*, recently published by Nijhoff.



■ **James Burnham** turns a hard gaze on the significance of the newly-formed Communist Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. . . . **Frank Meyer** catches a whiff of heresy arising from John Rothchild's article, "The Un-silent Generation," (*NR*, June 17) and proceeds to administer an ideological scolding . . . . Up, up and away, urges **William Kusher**, who is just back from a flying tour of most of the known world. . . . **Anthony Dolan** discusses an unlikely student publication at Princeton. . . . A recent commencement, the antiriot bill and Sen. Fulbright make **William Buckley** gloomy.

■ The reviewers this week are tried and true *NR* contributors. **George Fielding Eliot** applies his considerable military expertise to an analysis of Alistair Horne's superb study of the 1940 fall of France. Highly recommended as a critical discussion of the relationship between politics and military strategy, with important lessons for the Sixties. . . . **Arnold W. Green** reviews Charles L. Fontenay's attack on egalitarianism. Flawed, says Professor Green, but certainly preferable to Margaret Mead. . . . **Max Geltman** runs through the current crop of books and non-books on the Mideast. . . . **Ruth Berenson** sees age wrinkles showing on the forty-year-old façade of the Museum of Modern Art, and **William Rickenbacker** hears in the tinny tinkle of the player piano the characteristic tune of our times.



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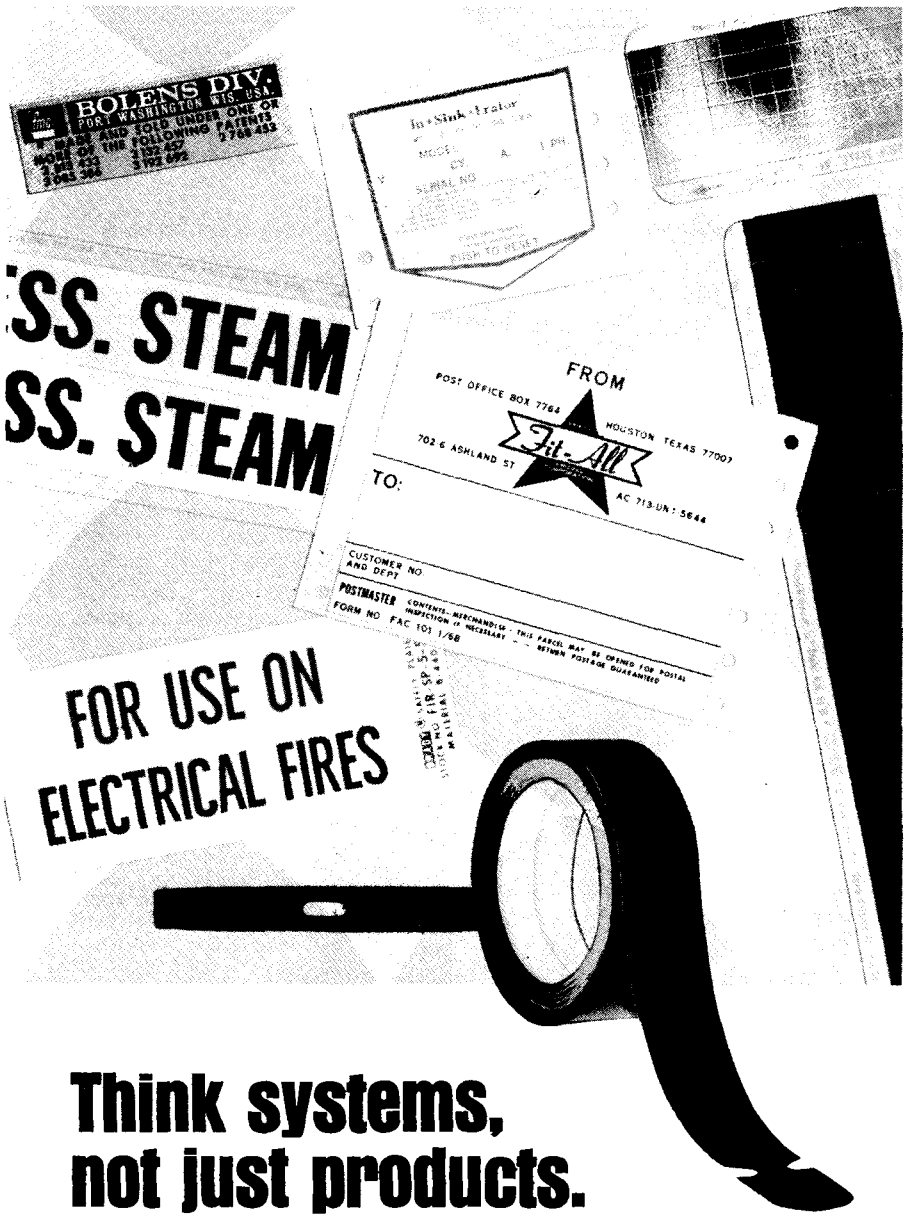

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LETTERS

(Cont. from p. 621)

formist college contingent, consider: 1) The attraction to military-style clothes, ranging from government-issue to stylized sailor pants. 2) The military nature of the "militants'" activities. 3) The plausible theory that much of the unrest is a manifestation of the generation's deprivation of a psychologically satisfying war of its very own, leading by a sort of self-justifying inversion process to . . .4) Antiwar politics (sour grapes).

Factors 1 through 4 leave the school faculties with unruly mobs of soldiers manqués—and having for the most part no military training themselves, they make the most idiotic mistakes in dealing with them.

More important, consider van den Haag's dictum, "a man will pay dearly for what he cherishes, and cherish what he paid dearly for." Two or more years' service will itself give men firmer convictions as to the military's worth, not to mention what can be learned there. But instead we're building a teaching profession more and more of draft-dodgers who will in all likelihood continue their self-justification with vaguely-to-radically anti-military views from the draft age on—and indoctrinate their students likewise.

The same tendency for entire professions to evolve into anti-military blocs applies to other unselected groups. The ideological biases already developed are too strong for volunteer service to provide sufficient randomness of selection to overcome these bloc tendencies.

Fairview, N.C. JOHN L. BURNHAM

The Late Dr. Dodd

It is necessary to write this letter not only in the interest of the historical accuracy to which your magazine is committed, but in order to defend a devoted friend ["Bella Dodd, RIP," *NR*, May 20].

You begin by saying that "she was kicked out" of the Party for her "stirrings against the Stalinists." Actually Dr. Dodd sought to leave of her own accord, because of her disenchantment with Communism, not merely with Stalinism. You continue that "it was a while before she could mobilize herself to the agonizing life of the anti-Communist." Yet, you forget to mention that during this period she was offered a lucrative sum to do a series of articles for a national weekly magazine, provided only that she would not embrace that "agonizing" position. She, of course, refused.

You conclude that she "was broke and dispirited," and "ended her life not the distinguished lawyer and teacher that she would, no doubt, have been had she merely modulated her pro-Communism." As a clever thrust against the hypocrisy of the liberal community the remark has merit, but it is woefully misleading: at her death her law firm was flourishing; she

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was offered $300 a week to edit a new newspaper.

No, she was neither broke nor dispirited. But there did exude from her a spirit of poverty. And that spirit, God willing, will be carried forth by her humble and loyal friends.

New York, N.Y. TIMOTHY A. MITCHELL

Sweeney on Space

I was quite surprised at your interpretation of my words ["If Verne Could Look at NASA," May 20] as an "answer to the population collapse, etc." My contention is that the evolution of the human species cannot be resumed en masse on earth and that the ultimate meaning of space flights is its resumption elsewhere. I did not suggest that those left behind would be affected in any way. I only implied that such small souls as Linus Pauling would hide their egg-heads in shame if they could look back at themselves in Time, as we do at the savants who would have barred the voyages of Columbus, Drake and Magellan until the problems of plague, rat-infested cities and urban poverty had been solved.

Wheeling, W. Va. THOMAS SWEENEY

I must make a mild protest regarding the article by Thomas Sweeney. Kistiakowsky and Sweeney are *both* wrong. NASA not only runs the Apollo program, but helps to support research on the genetic code in a number of laboratories, including our own. NASA announced its interest in the genetic code in 1963.

Of course, the code is just as important as space exploration—in fact, it is a form of space exploration, because it is related to the origin and development of life anywhere in the universe.

Thomas Sweeneys recommendations for breeding *Homo sapiens* are at the same intellectual and scientific level as the ideas of Lysenko, I am afraid.

Berkeley, Cal. THOMAS H. JUKES

Frederick Nietzsche once said "my ambition is to say in ten sentences what others say in a book." I believe that the article by Thomas Sweeney titled "If Verne Could Look at NASA" embodied in a few paragraphs is the fulfillment of Nietzsche's ambition.

I was completely engrossed in the article, and while Mr. Sweeney's thinking may seem to some as far out, I wonder how a reader would look at it fifty years from now.

It is almost axiomatic that man wants his future man to be physically and mentally superior to his present self, whatever may be the structure in which he lives. Is it possible that we may go Jules Verne one better and go around the UNIVERSE in eighty days?

Los Angeles, Cal. CHARLES A. PRINCE

Put-on of the Year

"Get Well" wishes to Chris Nichols after his bout with *Reflections on a Sinking Ship* [*NR*, May 20]. To be given the task of reviewing Gore Vidal's latest rantings is enough to put anyone's mind in a turmoil.

The reviewer's wavering doubts as to the seriousness of Vidal's writing parallel my own doubts upon first viewing Tiny Tim. Is he for real? Tiny Tim has proved to be the greatest put-on that has ever come along, but Vidal's running him a close second. At least Tiny Tim has one thing going for him—he's unique, whereas any science-fiction reader recognizes Gore Vidal's rehashings.

On second thought, have Tiny Tim and Gore Vidal ever put in an appearance together? Could be this is a greater put-on than we ever imagined! A little putty on Vidal's nose, padding in the hips, long hair . . . .

Maywood, Ill. LUCILLE DAHMS

Non-dreg Speaks Up

Your editorial "Load Your Missiles, Men" in the May 6 issue deserves some kind of award, but I don't know if they have one for unbridled *argumentum ad hominem.*

If *NR* wishes to avoid the charge of "irresponsibility," then it should address itself to the issues at hand rather than dwelling in insidious incrimination by association. Of course your magazine has the perfect right to stir conservatives of America from lethargy into action, but it will not strengthen its case by calling Ted Kennedy a rabble-rouser and me one of the "bitter anti-American dregs." I oppose the ABM system because I care about the fate of this country just as much as you do, and I defy you to look me in the eye and call me a dreg.

Davidson, N.C. R. S. CROSS

Respect for Life

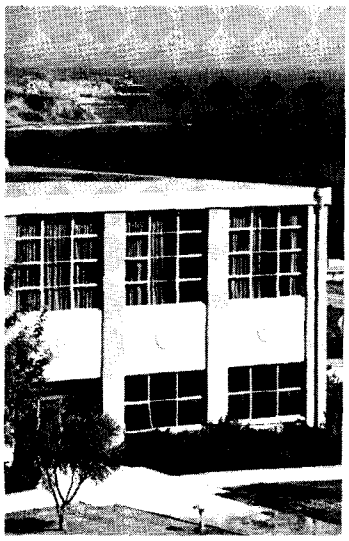
I hesitate to comment on Will Herberg's review of my book, *The Vanishing Right to Live* [*NR*, June 3]. It is not my intention to disparage the review. Rather, I write because the review points up the central importance of contraception. Mr. Herberg and I agree on most things. But contraception is the sticking point. I argue that, while the use of contraceptives cannot be restricted because to do so would violate the right of privacy, their sale and distribution, as distinguished from their use, should be restricted and, in the case of minors, totally forbidden. Perhaps more importantly, government should shift its policy from encouragement to discouragement of contraceptives.

Maybe because of his disagreement as to the objective wrong of contraception, Mr. Herberg cannot agree that the discouragement of contraception has anything to do with promoting respect for life. That respect, however, cannot endure without a due respect for the origins of life and for the generative process. When the procrea-

(Continues on page 659)

education with a view...

...not just a view of the inspiring Pacific Ocean, but also a view–a perspective–of life.



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THE WEEK

■ The question before the House of Representatives is: should Apollo 11 plant anything on the Sea of Tranquility which would have ah, symbolic significance? The forces are mobilized which oppose putting a conventional American flag there, on various grounds, e.g. it smacks of old-fashioned colonialism, and anyway, the teevee coverage from the module will be in black and white, so the color of the flag wouldn't come through. Still, something should be left there, to make less lonely the next person who happens by. Perhaps one should look ahead. Why not a flag with 51 stars?

■ The upset in New York City might just have some of the consequences so vociferously feared by those who begged the Republican voters to return John Lindsay. The upset is a major upheaval. Because to turn down Lindsay was to turn down what he stands for, which is dogmatic liberalism. The job ahead is to make his burial as a national Republican figure neat—by explaining to bewildered GOP observers out over the country why it was wrong in the first place to wax enthusiastic over Lindsay as a Republican comer: why the national GOP, in order to succeed, needs to jettison the old stereotypes. For those who are interested in symbols: the New York Conservative Party, which set out in 1962 from scratch to salvage the New York Republican Party, surpassed the showing state-wide of the twenty-year-old Liberal Party in 1966. John Lindsay is reduced to the backing of the exiguous, ideological Liberal Party. The Conservative Party and the Republican Party fuse to back an obscure competitor of John Lindsay.

■ The most interesting rumor coming out of the New York mayoral primary is that members of the New Democratic Coalition intend to boost Bronx Borough President Herman Badillo as an independent candidate in November. Badillo made a strong showing against Controller Mario Procaccino, the Democratic nominee, and Badillo supporters claim that voting machines and polling places in Badillo's strongest territory were sabotaged. Badillo's people are for the most part former supporters of Eugene McCarthy. They find Procaccino unpalatable, and John Lindsay is increasingly identified with the "old politics."

■ A nationwide opinion poll, carried out by Opinion Research Corp., Princeton, N.J. asked, "Do you think the U.S. should have some sort of ABM defense system, or should not?" The response: Yes, should, 84 per cent; No, should not, 8 per cent; No opinion, 8 per cent. A second question followed: "President Nixon has come out for a limited ABM system—called the Safeguard system—which is supposed to protect our ability to strike back at an attacker. Do you think Congress should approve this system, or should not?" The response: Yes, should approve, 73 per cent; No, should not approve, 10 per cent; Depends, 3 per cent; No opinion, 14 per cent. *NR*'s conclusion: Congress will vote for Safeguard.

■ Neither Harvard militants nor hard-line disciplinarians will be satisfied by the action taken on June 9 against the rioters who, two months before, not only seized a campus building, but dragged out nine deans. Only sixteen students (out of the 196 arrested) were actually suspended from the university; 119 others were warned against future violence. Student militants will not like the punishments, but can't do much, since school has already let out for the summer. Disciplinarians won't like the large number excused, but must feel that Harvard is at least doing a bit better than Cornell.

■ Dawn is breaking: someone besides *NR* has finally noticed that César Chavez is not all that he claims to be. Two men who had been very prominent in the Toronto grape boycott, Michael O'Meara (a newspaperman) and the Rev. James McDonald, have completely changed their ideas after visiting Delano. Some of their new conclusions: a) the squalid living conditions Chavez weeps about simply do not exist; b) many of the workers oppose having a union that would limit their working hours and, therefore, their earning power; c) the AFL-CIO is aching to get its hands on the $84 million a month it would receive if, because of a precedent in Delano, it became the bargaining agent for all American farmworkers. Eat Grapes.

■ What's wrong with you, Richard Sanchez, don't you hate this country? How do you expect us to understand a group like your Mexican American Minority Against (MAMA) when it "reaffirms its faith in friendship and the brotherhood of all Americans"? Why can't you just join the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) and advocate the elimination of gringos? We'd better have a look at your program for bringing MAYO into line: "Fight poverty and hunger by looking for gainful employment"; "Seek professional help to rid itself of the Hispanic hang-up"; "Cease being bilingual blotters absorbing the national juices of a country rich in opportunity and freedom and giving nothing of yourself in return except the acid excesses of hate and acrimony"—enough! Get out there and hate, man, it's the thing.

■ Salomon Brothers & Hutzler, the investment bankers who claim to have invented the term, offer the following as the scientific definition of "credit crunch": "a market condition distinctly worse than a 'squeeze' or 'pinch,' but by no means as severe as a 'credit crisis.'" By that standard, the interaction of the monetary authorities and the continuing inflationary boom is crunching at least

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some sectors of the market, and there are not a few economists who believe a generalized crunch may be in the offing. Messrs. SB&H also note: "No painless way has yet been found to end a great inflationary boom." Since a conspicuous part of that pain is from a drop in jobs and profits, there are a good many other economists who are skeptical that the authorities—and the political leadership that ultimately controls their actions—will keep their crunch really crunching once the pain evokes the inevitable howls. These skeptics therefore conclude that though inflation may be somewhat slowed for a while, it is not likely to fade away.

■ On the first front of their war against deployment of a U.S. anti-ballistic missile system, the disarmers argued that it was unnecessary because we were developing new offensive weapons—in particular, multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRV)—which would preserve our deterrent capability against any advances in Soviet nuclear armament. Now the second front is being opened. Representative John B. Anderson (R., Ill.) in the House and Senator Edward W. Brooke (R., Mass.) in the Senate, backed by the usual flock, have opened a drive to stop the testing and development—precisely—of MIRV. *N.B.* The Soviet Union already has a functioning ABM system. It is completing preparations for an improved, more extensive ABM. It has already developed and is currently testing its own MIRV system. There is no report of opposition from any members of the Supreme Soviet.

■ In testimony to the House Appropriations Committee that went unnoticed, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird disclosed that the Soviet Union is actively testing a new and much improved anti-ballistic missile. This has the ability to coast along, after being launched, and then to be restarted with changed speed and direction. In this way it could counter evasive programming of incoming missiles (changes of direction, low trajectory, etc.).

■ Some strategic analysts who believe that future world power relationships will depend on control of "inner space" are dismayed that the anti-Pentagon crusade got the President to cancel the Air Force's Manned Orbiting Laboratory project. Others, however, find comfort in the last part of the lead sentence in an *Aviation Week & Space Technology* report: "Abrupt cancellation of the Air Force's Manned Orbiting Laboratory (MOL) program last week underscores a significant Nixon Administration decision to throw full support toward a civilian orbital station with enough flexibility to include covert manned surveillance only as needed."

■ Brazilian authorities had planned—in fact, had insisted—that Nelson Rockefeller attend a ceremony at which a military decoration would be presented to his adviser, Gen. Robert W. Porter Jr. Rockefeller, however, was evidently reluctant to seem to condone this insistence on militarism by the government which dismissed the congress, muzzled the press, fired scores of highly respected college professors, and this week had to fill the jails with students in order to make Brazil safe for him. Hence, he simply did not go to the ceremony, choosing instead to wander dramatically through the empty congressional halls.

■ A university exists solely to forget useless knowledge, Albert Jay Nock once argued, citing Oxford as the clear, enduring example. If you cannot attend Oxford, you can at least turn to it for material wherewith to begin your education—by forgetting, for instance, that a driver is no longer a coachman, that a suitcase has ceased to be a small portmanteau, and that teen-age, curb, tire, T-shirt, sacred cow, paperback, supermarket and sick joke all appear in the new Oxford Dictionary.

■ It's a "reign of terror" in Gary, Indiana, says Attorney General T. L. Sendak—and much of the blame is due Richard Hatcher, the city's first black mayor. Among the charges: Members of a black street gang disrupted a city council meeting at which Hatcher came under fire; a dinner honoring Gov. Edgar Whitcomb was disrupted by two hundred children who threw food and walked on tables. Demanding a federal investigation, Sendak said the children were recruited and led by a black militant on the city payroll, and police stood by and did nothing on Hatcher's orders. Hatcher's response: "Racism."

■ Officials at the University of Puebla (Mexico) think they've found the solution to the problem of student revolution. "Because their aggressiveness, caused by psychological problems and complexes, has been badly channeled," troublesome students will be given a "psychological-aid program" including, if necessary, psychoanalysis. A shocking roar of protest is expected from the students.

■ On a bright morning in June we strolled over to our favorite news kiosk near the statue of Hildegarde in the Plaza. At first everything seemed normal. The vendor with the harelip snarled at us, spat on our boots, and palmed our change. We ambled to our favorite bench beside the fountain, kicked a sleeping derelict to the

The Last Act

Let the velvet curtain fall;
  Drag the creature off the stage;
Stifle every caterwaul;
  Hoist the integrated cage;
Clang the iron hinges shut;
  Make the combination whirl!
This may be illegal, but
  For my money, so was Earl.

W. H. VON DREELE

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pavement, seated ourselves with a sigh, and opened our *New Yorker*. We ignored the new table of contents which lists not only titles of articles and stories but page numbers and authors, and quickly pressed on, searching in our accustomed way for the new memoir of life among spinster aunts in Austria by Mavis Flugel. And there, right in the center of the cartoon section, was a six-page anti-ABM ad. The day suddenly grew chilly, and we rose and left quickly.

The Campaign Ahead

Lindsay's concession speech was not, of course, a concession speech at all. He was not beaten; rather, the Party had been captured by "men of the ultra-Right." It was an outpouring of personal pique. The voice was cold and arrogant, the bitter phrases clipped prissily, the tone steaming with self-righteousness. Nowhere in the diatribe was there the slightest recognition of what had happened on primary night. Republicans turned out in record numbers to vote no confidence in Lindsay. He had failed as mayor and members of his Party took this most democratic opportunity to say so. Lindsay has in effect been drummed out of the Republican Party by the rank and file. He is now officially a Liberal, and as he made clear in his no-concession concession speech, he intends to do his best between now and November to fracture his newly-united former Party.

The Lindsay counterattack is already being mounted. The first order of business is to pin the tired "right-wing extremist" label on Senator Marchi. This will be difficult to do, as even the media men admitted on primary night, for Marchi is quiet, soft-spoken, with an air of almost scholarly restraint. Nevertheless, the attempt will be made to depict him as the darling of the Birchers, the sweetheart of the old ladies in tennis shoes.

And the smears have begun. A Lindsay aide, quoted by CBS well before the final results were in, spoke of the "hate vote" and said: "New York is now the Los Angeles of the East." One can have a lot of fun with such a statement, of course. Did Marchi, like Yorty, win because of the color of his opponent's skin? Does this mean that Marchi is anti-white? Have the WASPs, huddling in their silk-stocking ghetto, begun to develop racial awareness? Can Lindsay men be charging Marchi with an anti-WASP campaign?

But it is idle to attempt to find reason in the statements of the Lindsay camp, where rhetorical puffery has long been confused with thought. No attempt to label Marchi as a backlash candidate will work. There were no racial undertones in the Senator's campaign and the people who voted for him were voting not against a group but for effective government, something Lindsay has failed to provide. But the smears will be flying thick and fast. Lindsay is through as a Republican, but he still has a chance to win a second term as a Liberal. The statements of his aides and the nature of his primary-night statement foreshadow the nature of the campaign to come. One hopes that such guardians of the public conscience as the *New York Times* will be as diligent in condemning the smear tactics of the Left as they are of those of the Right. Of course, they won't. Never have.

Second Best at Moscow

It took the Kremlin nearly five years to bring off the international Communist congress that ended a ten-day Moscow meeting on June 17. The results were a good deal short of the Kremlin's original hopes and aims, but on net the Presidium will probably judge it worth the trouble. At a minimum, holding this congress was a lesser evil. Giving it up—as many of the national parties would have much preferred—might have meant a further extensive and rapid disintegration of the international Communist structure.

As the proceedings of the congress, like the prior difficulties in calling it, demonstrated, the Soviet Union cannot reconstruct the international Communist movement, even apart from China, into a homogeneous monolith in the Stalin mode. Stalin abolished factions, prohibited public expression of dissident views and compelled total subordination of the policies of every national party to "defense of the Soviet Union." In 1969 the parties divide into at least three broad factions: pro-Soviet loyalists, pro-Chinese (which were not present in Moscow) and a third neutralist camp, itself subdivided, that includes such important parties as the Italian, Rumanian, Australian and Cuban. Dissident speeches were not only given by delegates to the congress, but—unthinkable in Stalin's time—were distributed to the non-Communist journalists and reported in *Pravda*. Not only the absent pro-Chinese parties but a number of those present would nowadays give defense of the Soviet Union less than top priority. These manifestations in no sense indicate that the hearts of the Soviet leaders have undergone a democratic softening. They would have run the show with a Stalinist whip if they had been able, but they aren't.

But though the Kremlin is no longer the apodictic autocrat of a fully regimented Communist movement, this congress did serve to prove that the Soviet party is still dominant, still the leader. After all, it is a formidable achievement to have pulled into Moscow and kept in order for a fortnight the representatives of seventy-five parties from all over the world, and it is no less formidable if a good many of those parties really didn't want to come. To make this public, big-scale display of leadership and power: that is why the Kremlin wanted, and needed, to have this congress, even though it could not run things exactly as it wished and had to settle for a formal document omitting explicit endorsement of its stand on the two most sensitive issues, the conflict with China and the Czech intervention.

The Kremlin wanted and needed this display, first, because even without explicit endorsement from the congress, its hand is strengthened against China. The Com-

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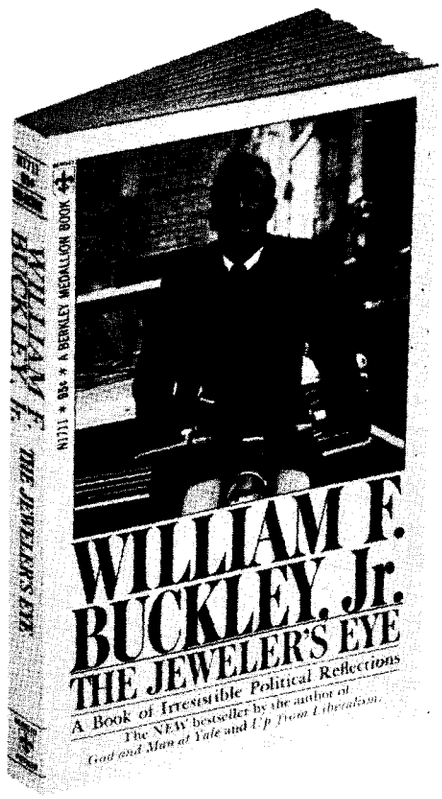
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munists of the world are witness that the Soviet Union *can* call into being a vast assembly from all continents, and China cannot. The Soviet leaders realize by now, as they did not realize five years ago when this congress was first projected, that their conflict with China is not going to disappear either by a converging of wills from both sides or by a reversal of Chinese leadership (which the Kremlin may once have imagined it could engineer). The border incidents of the past years show that the conflict may escalate to even the fiercest levels. The Soviet leaders, looking to the future, seek to dragoon, persuade or seduce a maximum of allies for whatever may come. Therefore the many and long addresses by the Soviet leaders and their Polish, East German, Hungarian and Bulgarian comrades on the origin, nature and threatening potential of the conflict with China.

The Soviet leaders know also that, whatever the difficulties in staging this congress and the divergencies it revealed, they can rely on one powerful cement binding together all those parties in Moscow and the nations and movements these parties represent, that binds together with them, indeed, even those Communist parties and nations not present, not excluding the Chinese. There were four sections to the formal congress

Nearing the Moment of Truth

To: All Americans
From: Edward Teller
Re: ABM

I am writing because of the importance of the current debate on an ABM for this country and the need for affirmative action on our part to insure the future security of this nation.

The ABM debate is now raging in Washington over the questions involved in deploying an urgently needed antiballistic missile system—the Safeguard ABM.

The dialogue so far has been dangerously one-sided. The opposition to the Safeguard system—a system which is actually defensive and non-provocative—is articulate, organized and sustained. Congressional offices are being bombarded with anti-ABM mail.

The opponents claim there is no defense against nuclear-tipped ICBMs. In my opinion there is not sufficient scientific data now available to definitely affirm or deny this claim. It is fair to say that there is not yet a sure defense against enemy nuclear attack. But this is certainly not the same as saying that there cannot be a defense position against nuclear ICBMs launched against this country. President Nixon, after thorough review with highly qualified advisers, has decided that an effective defense using the Safeguard system of our land-based deterrent forces is a hopeful solution for insuring the future security of our nation. Unlike the defense of cities and populations, a defense of hardened Minuteman sites is effective as long as it is capable of intercepting enough of an enemy's incoming missiles to insure that substantial numbers of our retaliatory Minutemen survive.

It is important to realize that a defense of our SAC bombers need be effective only for the short period which is needed for the airplanes to take off. It has been claimed that the defensive radar is easily put out of action. Mutual defense of this radar does furnish some help and furthermore it is difficult for the attacker to know that he has succeeded in inflicting sufficient damage on the radar.

Of course, if even one enemy warhead impacts in a city it would be unacceptable and since present technology will not provide the required 100 per cent, the President has chosen the next best thing—to use Safeguard to insure that our deterrent retaliatory forces remain credible to potential enemies and thus prevent attack on our cities and our people.

In this situation the President has proposed to spend $900 million in the next year on a Safeguard deployment which in reality is a pilot operation. Our industries have learned that research must be followed by pilot plants if one is to build on a realistic basis. So far, $5-billion has been spent on research. It is timely that a pilot operation should follow. Under the President's proposal the situation is to be re-evaluated in one year. If Congress decides to go ahead now we retain some flexibility. If the vote is negative an important avenue of defense will be blocked for a long period.

The need for a favorable decision is urgent because Soviet Russia has caught up with us in offensive power and is rapidly forging ahead. In not more than five years they may have the ability to wipe out our retaliatory forces with a sudden "first strike." Missile defense would at least cast a doubt into the minds of Communist planners. If they cannot be certain of success they probably will not attack.

These arguments have been supported by detailed facts in the testimony of Secretary Laird. Unfortunately, because reassuring statements by Secretary McNamara had lulled us into a sense of false security, this testimony was accepted with some doubt. Secretary Laird declassified some relevant secret facts. But proof thus offered to support the ABM proposal was discounted as "scare" tactics. Yet Secretary Laird's position deserves full credence.

This situation demonstrates that there is an urgent necessity to open the book of military secrets to Congress and to the public. Only in this way can a democracy like ours arrive at firm and reasonable conclusions. Piecemeal disclosures lead to nothing but confusion.

The Russians have deployed a missile defense. The preservation of peace depends on the right decision. This decision will be made in the next weeks.

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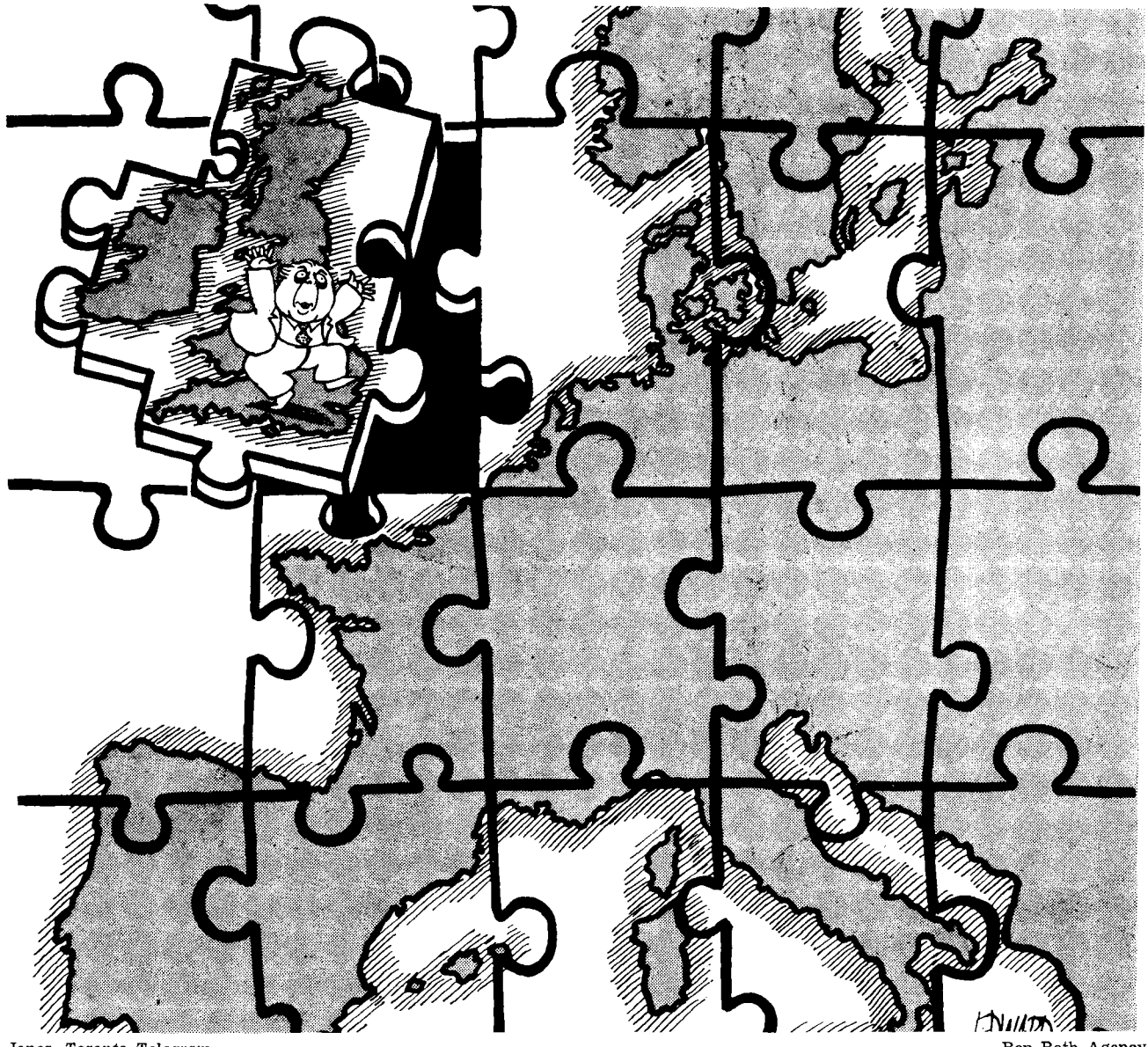
document. One section only—the third—was signed on the spot and unreservedly by every delegation. The topic of that section was "the struggle against imperialism"—meaning, first and primarily, the struggle for the defeat and destruction of the United States. Today's squabbling polycentric Communism is, as our experts never tire of telling us, very different from Stalin's monolithic Communism. The Soviet leaders do not forget a critical identity that endures: all Comunists today, like all Communists in Khrushchev's day and Stalin's day, propose to bury us.

Reverse Twist in France

On election day plus two, the Communist Party of France made its first demands on new President Georges Pompidou. In a tough statement it told Pompidou that French labor expected to be paid off in the form of increased social welfare benefits and substantial wage increases when these are negotiated a couple of months from now. The Communists as much as said they had won the election for Pompidou and that they expected their share of the loot.

The maneuver was the reverse of the united front strategy that the French Communists have so long favored. Instead of throwing their votes to Alain Poher, the centrist candidate, in the runoff June 15 as most observers had expected—which would have ensured his election—the Communist Party abstained from the final voting and ordered its supporters to abstain. As a result nearly 35 per cent of the eligible French voters either stayed home or voted "*nul*" a fortnight ago—12 per cent more than had abstained on June 1. In addition, the Party leaders and the Party press viciously attacked Poher in the fortnight between the votes as did *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and the party-lining press elsewhere in Europe. Poher would place the interests "of the German and American



Jones, *Toronto Telegram* **Coming In** Ben Roth Agency

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imperialists above those of France," said Radio Moscow in the last of a number of anti-Poher broadcasts a day or so before the election. The reason the CP opposed Poher, of course, was that he had said he would reverse many of de Gaulle's foreign policy stands (NATO, the Common Market, Israel, the attitude toward West Germany, the United States, Great Britain) whereas Pompidou, as the Gaullist candidate, had perforce softpedalled his foreign policy differences with the General. So the French CP, did, in effect, help elect Georges Pompidou.

Today, the only viable political powers in France are the Gaullists, who control the National Assembly and will continue to do so for the next four years, and the Communists. The non-Communist left is in total disarray after its miserable showing on June 1, and the center, with Poher now out of the picture and returned to the oblivion from which he emerged seven weeks earlier, has no leader and no organization.

This political imbalance may be as hard for Pompidou to handle as France's ticklish economic situation.

Did Someone Spike the Geritol?

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions has contributed significantly to our nation. Rexford G. Tugwell, for instance, a New Dealer most people assume to have passed on years ago, is alive and well in Santa Barbara, working on his 35th draft of a new U.S. Constitution. Bishop Pike has used the center as base from which to communicate with the spirit world. And Elisabeth Mann Borgese taught her dog to type there.

In view of these contributions, it is small wonder that the Center is revered by the American people, and thus the stunned disbelief last week when Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, the kindly old director, perhaps best known for abolishing football at the University of Chicago, carried out a ruthless purge. A dozen of the fellows, poor old ex-Bishop Pike among them, were booted out into the real world, where some of them will no doubt be forced to work for a living.

One hopes that this aberration is temporary. Dr. Hutchins certainly cannot mean to set up as a dictator, intending to change the name to The Center for the Study of Autocratic Institutions. The charitable interpretation must obviously be the correct one: someone spiked the Geritol and Dr. Hutchins acted under the influence. The effects will soon wear off and his elderly comrades will be readmitted into the fellowship of the Center.

"The truth about the Center . . . is that it is not a very good center," said Dr. Hutchins glumly to the press, no doubt in the grip of the depression which follows every fling, "but it is the only one there is." Exactly. And as such it should continue to exist. Where else, after all, can old New Dealers go to doze in the sun and write Constitutions?

The Great Put-on

Some fishes simulate a rock
When danger throws them into shock.
Zoologists are known to err
When naming pandas Him or Her.
A bobwhite plays at being sick;
A lizard imitates a stick.
And where's the kid who hasn't read
About a possum playing dead?
In nature, creatures find it wise
To cultivate a good disguise,
But watching Lindsay blow the scene
Beats anything on Halloween.

W. H. VON DREELE

Bugging Joe Namath

Wiretapping and bugging are big this summer. Most of the state of New Jersey, it would appear, is bugged, as witness the recent widely-reported conversations among Mafia goons. This has its entertainment value, of course, as when a couple of killers discuss the appropriate behavior for murder victims. If they act like gentlemen, it is pointed out, the Mafia will do a real neat job guaranteed to cause the families of the dispatched a minimum of embarrassment.

Also revealing were the disclosures involving Joe Namath, quarterback of the New York Jets and, now that Johnny Unitas is getting old, the best passer in pro football. Namath is, after all, in the entertainment business, and he has capitalized handsomely on the publicity he generates. When Joe was ordered by football Commissioner Pete Rozelle to sell his share in Bachelors III because it is frequented by various unnamed sinister figures, fans tittered with delight. Would Joe do it? Of course he will, said the smart boys. But he didn't. Instead he announced that he would retire from football. The titters became groans of delight, mixed this time with less ecstatic groans from TV networks, sponsors and club owners, all of whom depend on Namath to multiply their gains.

Don't worry, said the money boys, still confident. All a stunt. Rozelle will make some concession, Joe will give in, and all will be set for the return of the prodigal. And some more good publicity.

But then the *Life* and *Newsweek* stories broke. Joe had denied knowing these unsavory patrons, members of some Mafia group or other. A lie, said *Life* and *Newsweek*. Wiretap evidence shows that Namath in fact enjoyed a significant acquaintanceship among members of the underworld. And suddenly it's not so easy any more. Rozelle will find it hard to take the prodigal back now without first initiating a thorough investigation of the charges made by the magazines, one of which (*News-*

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week) raised by negative inference the question whether Namath may have been involved in betting on games.

And so the best quarterback in football finds himself without a team. Guilt by association, he claims, a practice which used to be deplored with great frequency by magazines such as *Life* and *Newsweek* not so long ago. Namath has been proved to have done nothing wrong and certainly nothing illegal. But he *might* have, suggest the periodicals. And so, apparently, he is to be deprived of his profession.

Which brings us back to the subject of wiretapping. The ethics of Namath's relationships may be questionable. But also questionable are the ethics of those official sources who apparently passed the tapped conversations on to *Life* and *Newsweek*. And this is to say nothing of journalistic ethics. Wiretapping is no doubt necessary in cases of national security. But the Namath case suggests just what is wrong with its indiscriminate use.

Connecticut Speaks Up

Congressman Thomas J. Meskill recently sent a questionnaire to the voters of his district (Conn., Sixth).

1) Should the Federal Government develop laws to help prevent strikes by public employees? Yes 65%; No 26%

2) Do you favor federal aid to private and parochial schools? Yes 35%; No 60%

3) Should the voting age be lowered to eighteen years? Yes 45%; No 51%

4) Would you favor a constitutional amendment which would allow Congress to over-ride a Supreme Court decision by a two-thirds vote? Yes 52%; No 37%

5) Should the Electoral College be abolished and the election of the President and Vice President be purely and simply by popular vote? Yes 80%; No 12%

6) Would you favor a policy of promoting trade with Communistic bloc nations? Yes 32%; No 54%

7) Should the Federal Government try to slow the population migration from rural to urban areas through programs of economic incentives and aids to private industry to help create jobs in rural areas? Yes 61%; No 27%

8) At the conclusion of the Vietnam conflict, would you favor granting amnesty to those who fled the country or were imprisoned because of "Conscientious Objection" to the war? Yes 20%; No 68%

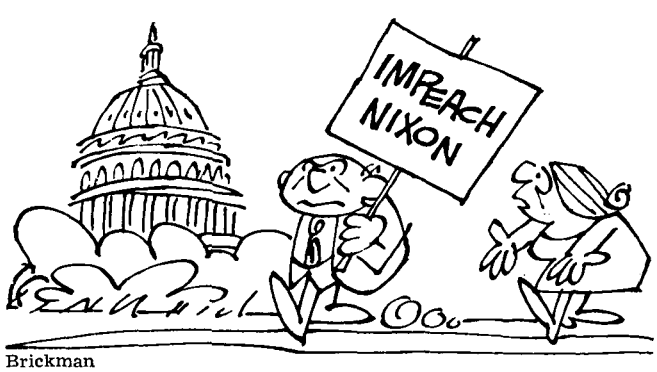
9) If a satisfactory peace in Vietnam cannot be secured in the foreseeable future which of the following, if any, would you favor?

a) Withdrawal of U.S. forces, even if this means a Communist takeover. 21%

b) Adhere to holding operations by joint U.S.-South Vietnam forces. 12%

c) Bring increased military pressure to bear on North Vietnam. 55%

d) None of these. 12%



Brickman

"For Heaven's sake, Leon—other people didn't get appointments either. . . ."

Export Products

"When the institution becomes unresponsive . . . it is time to make our voices heard and to grasp the reins of power."

"The kids are too soft. They've been promised too much."

A familiar exchange. Is it Dr. Pusey versus the SDS? The Black Student Union versus Hayakawa? Max Rafferty versus the kids? Wrong. It's Dr. William E. Gaymon, head of the Peace Corps in Liberia, versus his young volunteers, of whom there is one for every 3,000 Liberians, the highest ratio in the world. Why this dense concentration of Corpsmen in Liberia? No one seems to know, but the rumor is that Liberia is one of the rapidly diminishing number of countries in the world which will still tolerate them.

At any rate, they're finding time heavy on their minds, and so, like their counterparts back on the campuses,

Minneapolis Elects a Cop

Minneapolis, a nation
In the wilds of Minnesota,
Put a warrior in office
To be Keeper of the Arrows;
Placed a brave in opposition
To the City Council pow-wows;
Shocked the Farmer-Labor Party;
Stunned Republican officials.
Chieftains liberal in spirit
Wonder whether it's an omen;
Wonder why a placid people
Liked the slogan, "Law and Order."
They consulted Happy Humphrey
And the hoary hunter, Harold;
Took to wearing totem trinkets;
Studied entrails in the wigwams.
Still, the smoke across the mountains
(Many moons across the mountains)
From the tribes by far Pacific
Spell the awful letters, YORTY.

W. H. VON DREELE

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most of whom also have little to do, they're protesting. It's all the fault of the generation gap, of course. The administrators, one young idealist points out, are "all the age of our parents, so how can you expect them to treat us as anything but children?"

Poor kids. But they can take heart. Peace has been, after all, pretty well established in Liberia. And when they come home, there's always the Marine Corps.

Notes & Asides

■ No week goes by without an inquiry concerning Edgar Smith, convicted for murder, whose persistent claims to innocence caught *NR*'s attention six years ago, and who last year wrote a best-seller on his experiences entitled *Brief Against Death*. The developments are two: a) incredibly, no date has yet been set for the hearing ordered by the Supreme Court last *October*. Judges are very busy men. But they can also be extraordinarily callous about the effect of the law's delays. It isn't as though one were suing the moving company for the loss of one's favorite antimacassar. Edgar Smith has been held in a death cell since 1957, and now the Supreme Court finds that there are *a priori* grounds for questioning whether he was justly convicted. One would think that under the circumstances the lower courts would instantly schedule the hearing, if only on the traditional grounds that irreparable damage is being done to Smith: month after month after month in a death cell. Not even that. A fortnight ago, a fellow inmate thought to play a prank on a new guard, whose habits had earned the disrespect of the inmates. Accordingly a note was circulated faking a projected break. The guard panicked, and the quarters of the prisoners were searched. Contraband! Smith was found to possess, against regulations, an old razor blade (he uses it to make parcels for sending to his mother the oil canvasses he paints), and his wedding ring. He was sent, on the twelfth anniversary of his entrance into the death house, into "the hole." Said hole is a tiny area, dark, without a reading light, incommunicado. Sentence, ten days. It transpired that the wedding ring, seized from him when he was sent to the death house, had been returned at the time of his scheduled execution, Smith having expressed the wish to wear it in the chair. The authorities forgot to reclaim it. Contributions to the Edgar Smith Defense Fund (tax deductible) should go to Mr. James Williams, Treasurer, New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, Oakwood School, Poughkeepsie, New York.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: In reference to the advertisement requesting dental services in your "Notes and Asides" (June 17), I have two questions. Can a dentist reply to this request and advertise that he is a conservative without advertising that he is a dentist? Since it is "unethical" for a dentist to advertise for patients in periodicals (although forms of advertising and what constitutes advertising are open to interpretation), could a conservative dentist be unethical? What a ridiculous thought! Even to consider the proposition seems to be straining the very borders of reason. I guess you'll discover the answer to the second question by the returns, but they will probably be glutted by replies from liberal dentists who accidentally stumbled into *NR*. I guess it would be pretty revolting to be trapped by a verbose, liberal dentist. What chance at rebuttal does one have with a mouth full of fingers and cotton balls?

Guy C. Clark, DDS
Pleasanton, California

■ The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW take great pleasure in announcing that Professor Jeffrey Hart has accepted a position as an editor. Mr. Hart is of course well known as a contributor and book reviewer. In recent months he has from time to time come down from Dartmouth to help with the editorial-writing. He is the author of lots of impressive books, among them *The American Dissent*, a study of contemporary conservative literature and attitudes, a 50,000-word hunk of which we published in our tenth anniversary edition. During 1968, he helped write speeches and position papers for Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon. He is, in short, a very good thing.

■ In response to many queries, some answers. President Nixon appointed me to something called the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information. There are five members. The other four are: Dr. Frank Stanton (Chairman and President of CBS); Thomas Vail (Publisher, *Cleveland Plain-Dealer*); Palmer Hoyt (Publisher, *Denver Post*), and Morris S. Novik (N.Y. radio-TV consultant). The commissioners, whose terms are for three years, are unpaid, but it is expected of them that they will travel, inform themselves on U.S. information policies and practices and meet once a month in Washington with the director of USIA (Frank Shakespeare), to exchange opinions and criticisms and delights. Once a year, the chairman of the Commission reports to the President and to Congress, making recommendations based on the year's experience. The law setting up the Commission stipulates that no more than three of the commissioners shall belong to the same political party. It is not, in other words, expected of them that they shall be sycophantic, either toward Congress, or the President or, for that matter, the director of the USIA. My appointment is in abeyance, pending confirmation by the Senate. The Senate will act on the recommendation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is William Fulbright. Senator Fulbright is a *fine* American. —**WFB**

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JAMES BURNHAM

FRONT INTO GOVERNMENT

THE THIRD WORLD WAR

When it was announced, June 11, that a Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam had been formed the preceding weekend, the spokesmen of Washington and Saigon dismissed the change as of no significance. "A change in nomenclature and nothing else," said a member of the South Vietnamese delegation. "It is just like the NLF, a tool of Hanoi, another screen put up to mask the Communist campaign to take over South Vietnam by force." President Thieu added from Saigon: "A propaganda trick of the Hanoi Communists, not worthy of any attention." "The same old wine in a new bottle," was the way Robert J. McCloskey put it for the State Department.

No doubt this is what they had to say, but let's hope they didn't mean it.

The South Vietnamese spokesman was correct in stating that the newly named entity is, "just like the NLF, a tool of Hanoi." Its announced members are for the most part identical to those of the NLF. As in the NLF, control is firmly in the hands of the Peoples Revolutionary Party, which is the southern branch of the North Vietnamese Communist Party (Lao Dong). The key figure is probably Tran Nam Trung, head of the PRP, who is listed as Secretary of Defense. There is also a non-Party frosting of intellectuals, mostly from the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, which the Communists set up a few months ago.

Form and Matter

Historical significance, however, most particularly in our day, is not fully defined by such bare bones of fact.

On the day it was announced, Algeria formally recognized the PRG. A batch of Communist and left-wing governments, led by the Soviet Union, followed the next day. At the June 12 session of the Paris talks, Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh stated she was speaking as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the PRG, and on the thirteenth she was thus identified in a picture on the front page of the *New York Times*. On the twelfth the Communist congress in Moscow sent the PRG a message of congratulations.

Recognition by some governments and media may not be enough to create a viable government *ex nihilo*, but any entity so recognized becomes a dynamic variable in political equations. There will be a rapid buildup of the PRG. More nations will extend diplomatic recognition—nearly a score have done so as I write. Its agents will insist on their designation as "Minister" or other official PRG representative; from design or convenience or inertia, this protocol will be accepted in meetings and by the media (even by *NR*: what else can we do?). Its envoys will be received in various capitals—as one was promptly received in Hanoi. Inside South Vietnam, documents will be circulated and directives given on PRG authority. Quite possibly, new non-Communist personalities—from the left Buddhist or other opposition groups in South Vietnam and perhaps from the large Vietnamese community in France which Mme. Binh has been courting—will announce their adherence to the PRG: to make such recruitment easier is one reason for calling it "provisional."

Probably the most important feature of this shift from NLF to PRG is the insight it gives into the intentions of the enemy.

At the June 12 Paris session, Ha Van Lau, the North Vietnamese delegate, declared that his government "warmly supports the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam as the authentic and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people." In these words he made clear the enemy's optimum objective: liquidation of the Saigon regime and substitution of the PRG as the government, in form and fact, of South Vietnam.

Failing that, the appearance of the PRG also makes clear the fall-back objective: a coalition government combining the PRG, individuals from various factions, and the present Saigon regime shorn—as the NLF has undeviatingly insisted—of Thieu, Ky and other "aggressors" and "U.S. puppets." So long as the Communists called their political structure a "front," they were leaving open the possibility that they might accept a widened Saigon regime as the working government of South Vietnam, subject to some sort of validating process. By shifting their label to "government," they exclude that possibility. They are saying: the question of our accepting a compromise based on continuance in office of the Thieu regime—however widened—is not a matter of negotiation; the absolute limit for negotiation is a coalition government; and this limitation cannot be changed by talk, but only by force, by a shift, to our detriment, in the actual power relationships.

How Moscow Feels

This is what the enemy *must* mean by introducing the PRG. There is no other intelligible interpretation. And it is discouraging news. It signifies that he is not yet prepared to settle on a basis that would permit us an honorable peace. He will settle, as of now, only on a basis that guarantees his takeover of South Vietnam.

Let us add one other message communicated by the coming of the PRG. The Soviet Union still prefers a Communist takeover in South Vietnam to peace in Vietnam without a Communist takeover. Washington has hoped that Moscow was sufficiently eager to stop the Vietnam war to be willing to help us end it with an honorable compromise. Moscow's instant recognition of the PRG proves this hope to be illusory; suggests, indeed, that Moscow had an active part in the decision to proclaim the PRG. □

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Richard Nixon, about this article, April 14: 'It is the most significant and perceptive analysis of what is wrong with our approach to higher education. . . I want everybody who has anything to do with education to read this piece'

Alienation and Relevance

STEPHEN J. TONSOR

THERE IS A striking parallel between the crisis in government at the national level in America and the crisis in the universities. In both cases the institutional structure has recently increased gigantically in size and in the scale of operation. Along with this increase in size has gone a tremendous augmentation of power both real and potential. However, it is a characteristic of this power that it is diffuse and focused only with difficulty: that it is all but impossible to bring this power to bear effectively on the problems of the state and the university. The problems which bedevil both the state and the university are frequently not problems which can be solved by the application of power. Along with the augmentation of size and power has gone a singular inability to match commitments with resources so that the state and the universities in spite of mega-dollar budgets find themselves perennially impoverished. Finally, and most importantly, each finds itself alienated from its constituency. Each has discovered that it is increasingly difficult for it to project an objective which will move men to its single-minded pursuit. It is not that men no longer believe in government and education. Indeed, they believe passionately in both. It is rather that they no longer understand either the purpose or the designs of big government or big education. While the power of both institutions has steadily increased, their authority has declined. Ultimately authority is far more important to education than power, and power without authority in the state soon gives way to tyranny. This parallel between the state and the university is instructive.

What is necessary in order to restore the institutional authority of higher education? How can higher education regain the confidence of those over thirty

and command the respect of those under thirty who listen with reluctance and dissent without debate?

It would be false to assume that all our difficulties are institutional in origin, that they arise from the fact that the university has either done too much or done too little. It must be said at the outset, and the fact faced with candor and resolution, that the most important problem which higher education faces today is the growing wave of irrationality and anti-intellectualism which has caught up large numbers of both students and professors. Student and professor activists inside the university and certain ideological groups outside the university no longer believe that truth must be the essential consideration in the academy.

Both the extreme Right and the extreme Left hold the same destructive view. Both Mark Rudd of Columbia and Governor Wallace of Alabama stand in the schoolroom door and, seen from the vantage point of the academy, they both hold the same low view of reasoned discourse. They believe that force ought to be substituted for sweet reason, that power ought to replace persuasion and that only "socially approved" voices and views should be heard. They believe that toleration is a weakness rather than a strength in intellectual enquiry and they are in the deepest sense of the word anti-intellectual. They aim at nothing less than the destruction of the life of reason. The university and the parent society have no alternative to repression. These groups cannot be permitted to disrupt and destroy the institutions they so obviously do not understand. They constitute a small minority and it is possible that had university administrations not been long accustomed by their faculties to bearing fools gladly, these groups would already have disappeared from the campus scene. Their disappearance, however, will not restore the authority of the university.

If the institutional aspirations of education are once more to become credible, universities must regain a sense of modesty and a selectivity in the formu-

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lation of their objectives. They cannot be all things to all men. The notion of the multiversity is rejected with justice by students and by perceptive faculty. They reject it not simply because it is impossible to administer but because it is an institution without goals. It does not know its own mind. The able administrator in the setting of the multiversity is not a man characterized by unusual educational vision but someone whose social acoustical equipment is highly refined and who acutely senses all the many needs of his society. He is committed to servicing those needs and adjusting and compromising between these many conflicting interests. Little wonder that in such circumstances the teacher feels he is an unwanted encumbrance and the student senses that he is a forgotten man. To compound the problem now by expecting the university to become a court of last resort for the solution of the major social problems of our time will only deepen the crisis which the university faces.

Genuine Experimentation

Until there is a restoration of genuine educational purpose there will be no restoration of confidence by society in its institutions of higher education. Higher education has as its chief goals the education of young men and women in such a way as to make them capable participants in our complicated technological civilization, sophisticated and creative members of our common culture, and active and concerned citizens.

In order to ensure circumstances in which teaching rather than research or community service is the primary objective of the university, government at all levels must forgo the temptation of easy recourse to the enormous resources of the university. Recently there has been a great deal of debate concerning the use of the talent and facilities available in the university for defense research. It is not inconsistent to argue that under very exceptional circumstances the university ought freely to use its talent in the defense of society, and still maintain that both the government and the university would be better served under most circumstances were both basic and applied research in the national defense area done in autonomous research institutes. The same case can be made against the use of the facilities of the university for the solution of social problems. Finally, business and industry should look to sources other than the university for their pure and applied research.

Much of the debate concerning university research at the present time misses the point. War research is no more illicit or licit than peace research. The only sound test is whether or not research enhances or diminishes the primary teaching function of the university. And it must be confessed that in spite of the brave talk to the contrary and considerable administrative legerdemain, research has become the tail that in many instances wags the dog. Faculty members on fractional appointments who spend the greater part of their time in other than teaching activities distort and confuse the educational purpose of the university. Foundation grants for centers and programs which are often inconsistent with the needs and basic educational directions of the institution are as dangerous to the university as government, civic and business research for which there is no clear-cut teaching mandate.

"Where there is no vision the people perish," is an observation which is as true of institutions as it is of nations. In education, however, our pressing need is not for a single and unitary vision but rather for visions as different and technique. The possibility for edu- society. Education cannot be genuinely relevant to our society and to its needs unless it is diverse both in objective and technique. The possibility for educational diversity in America is immense; but in reality American education is homogenous and uniform. The privately endowed colleges do poorly what the state universities do only a little better, and a handful of determinative major universities, as alike as peas in a pod, set the tone and direction for the whole educational enterprise. American education has become a single mechanism; its professors and students interchangeable parts. Under these circumstances, even student riots are monotonously, repellently, alike.

Among the most important functions of education are those of widening the options available to men in the solution of their problems and in the improvement of the quality of their lives, yet our universities steadily diminish and dilute the differences between themselves. Students are still able to choose the quality of their educations; they are unable, however, to do much through their own choice about the kind of education they receive. It is important that we re-establish a free market in education. It is important that the church-related school survive, not as a secularized ghost of its former self but as a school with a genuinely religious vision of the world, a school in which men learn to serve God and their fellow men rather than themselves. It is important that private humanistic colleges with their commitment to civilization and decorum and their quiet emphasis on freedom remain an important constituent of our educational system. It is essential that we have genuine experimentation in curriculum and method and not the pseudo-experiments hatched by administrators and departmental chairmen who need an excuse for hitting the foundations or the legislators once again for funds.

Educational Diversity

We cannot have this diversity, however, until the federal and the state governments drastically alter the role they play in financing higher education. American education will become diverse and relevant to the needs of both the student and the nation when, and only when, the student is forced to pay a very substantial portion of the total cost of his education. Privilege without responsibility is a very dangerous condition; privilege without either responsibility or choice generates unbearable tensions in the society, which makes such privilege possible. State schools which compete unfairly with private schools through discriminatory tuition rates have been the chief force in leveling and homogenizing American education. If we genuinely desire diversity we will do all in our power to encourage students to pay for their education through a tax on future earnings. If we genuinely wish diversity, we will insist that such educational grants as are made by the Federal Government will be made directly to the student rather than to institutions of higher education.

Only when there is a free market in education, with the student and his parents able to choose from among schools diverse in kind and quality, will we be able to say honestly to students: "We do not pretend to supply the sort of education you wish or need. If you really want a totally unstructured, ungraded course of study, segregated, revolutionary and socially relevant, you can get it at, let us say, Columbia or Brandeis or Rutgers, but you can't get it here." The growing sense of alienation among students arises in substantial measure from their inability to choose the quality and kind of education they believe relevant to their lives. →

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Not only should there be a diversification in the kind of college and university training available, but diversification should bring into existence a wide range of educational alternatives. Apprenticeship programs, proprietary schools, technical institutes operated by industry for the training of specifically needed talents, a strengthening and broadening of the junior and community college programs are all of considerable importance in the problem of making education relevant to the needs of the student and the needs of society. The American public must be disabused of the notion that the AB degree holds some sort of magic. For some time it has not been a mark of status and certainly it is not a guaranteed pass to higher income.

The right of entry into a craft union is often more difficult to achieve than entry into the most exclusive college. It strikes me as odd that the New Left which has been so concerned with the indiscriminate admission of all minority-group students into our colleges irrespective of their qualifications has had little or nothing to say of the restrictive practices which deny the right of entry, of many of these same minority groups, into those favored unions which possess monopoly advantages in our economy and society. Someone should say clearly that the way to status and achievement in our society is not through learning Swahili but through learning English. Someone needs to say clearly that the way to affluence does not lie through an AB degree, granted by yesterday's second-rate normal college, but a marketable skill which will secure for its holder and his family the dignity of achievement.

Nearly every professor has in the past several years encountered, in what he thought a rather sober discussion of an academic question, a sudden denunciation by a student member of his audience. The student does not challenge the professor's method or even question his data but simply rejects his position as immoral, as fascist or racist, or as simply irrelevant. There is no debate or discussion, no attempt to identify the question or purposefully expose the issue. It is assumed that absolute right prevails on one side and that moral obtuseness, Marxian false consciousness or plain wrongdoing characterizes the other side. The issue is not joined; it is not even discussed. Question periods at lectures are not occasions for refining the position of the lecturer but are seen as opportunities to present long, rambling denunciations and counter-lectures. The student usually ends his harangue with a plea for relevance and the lecturer, if he is smart enough, gathers that the young man or young lady (it is sometimes difficult to tell just which it is), is alienated.

Orthodoxy v. *Enquiry*

Last fall the *London Times* reported an international meeting of philosophers in Vienna in the following words: "While their elders and betters solemnly discuss the epistemological significance of the phrases 'Johnny has lost his pen. I have found a pen. I know Johnny lost it,' the students are racing through the corridors, shouting 'What about the Soviet invasion [of Czechoslovakia],' burning Russian and American flags, and wrestling with their professors for microphones during debates.

"It is disgusting, say the students, that three thousand of the wisest men from every country of the world should have gathered together in the largest philosophical talk-in in history and have nothing forceful to say about the Russian tanks on the Czech border less than fifty miles away. If philosophy has any real function it should be performing it now."

Clearly, what the student seeks is a relevant orthodoxy rather than an agonizing enquiry. Faced with some of the toughest choices in history, and living in a period when traditional certainties and traditional values have been challenged and opposed by alternatives, the student is really calling upon his professor for a clear and definitive answer and one preferably couched in a currently fashionable vocabulary and bearing the marks of current social concerns. To the student, education is irrelevant if it cannot provide a solution; preferably, of course, a solution which costs the student nothing and whose weight is born by the non-student sectors of society. The student wants to know what to think rather than how to think.

And the student has far too many professors who are willing to tell him what to think rather than attempt to teach him how to think for himself. The student has learned his lessons only too well. His professors, especially in the humanities and the social sciences, have all too often been exponents of an established orthodoxy rather than masters in the art of reasoned enquiry.

The situation is not to be mended

(Continues on page 661)

"Which is it today, Marcuse? God, Mother or the American flag?"

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LETTER FROM DELANO

The Grapes of Wrath

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

THE CALIFORNIA table-grape boycott has become fashionable. Recently George Plimpton (*The Paper Lion*) threw a fund-raising party for César Chavez' United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, and the New York press featured pictures of Plimpton's stable of décolleté dollies sipping champagne and pouting at the cameras. Old liberals such as James Wechsler have embraced the cause with lachrymose ardor, and new-breed liberal mutants—Jimmy Breslin, for instance—find in the boycott opportunity to show that they are just as warm-hearted and fuzzy-headed as any of the old timers.

Few Easterners have any real knowledge of the facts of the boycott. It is enough that emotions can be aroused and played on. The typical view is presented by Breslin in one of his *New York Post* columns. "John Steinbeck wrote *The Grapes of Wrath* almost thirty years ago and it is one of the few truly meaningful novels ever written in America, and in California they still grow grapes of wrath." Now there is a lot wrong here, not the least of which is Breslin's lardish prose style. The piece has a Christmas Eve setting, complete with four grape-pickers wandering lost in a New York snowstorm looking for a supermarket to boycott. The style is fat Hemingway (" 'They take from your check the cost of the place to live,' Pajemola said"), the atmosphere mid-Victorian, the thought contemporary liberal, as if a few peasants from *For Whom the Bell Tolls* had wandered into a production of *The Grapes of Wrath* as staged by Charles Dickens.

The important point here is not that Breslin writes likes he looks, however, but rather that his approach is typical of those Eastern liberals who have canonized César Chavez and sentimentalized the issues involved in the boycott out of any recognizable shape. The grape controversy is much too complex to lend itself to the Grapes-of-Wrath treatment. Chavez would have us believe that migrant workers pick the Delano table-grapes; that these migrants are paid substandard wages; that they drive Joad-like old cars and live in shacks; that they yearn to join Chavez' union; and that the growers are fascist lackeys of large corporations.

This argument has impact. It seems especially sinful in an affluent society to munch on grapes picked by starving Mexicans, and the picture of striking peons willing to lay their lives on the line so their children may enjoy a brighter future is a poignant one. But it is all, according to the growers, a lie.

The growers' case, which seldom sees print, is a strong one. In Delano, the area most affected by the boycott, they say 90 per cent of the pickers are not migrants but permanent residents. And these pickers, contrary to fashionable progaganda, are exceptionally well-paid. According to the Department of Agriculture, farm-workers in California average composite earnings of $1.69 per hour, the highest in the nation, and the grape-pickers average considerably above this, between $2 and $2.50 an hour, well above the legal national minimum wage.

Just because of this, the growers maintain—permanent residency plus high wages—Chavez is especially eager to unionize Delano. Migrant workers don't stay in place long enough for efficient dues collecting, as Chavez discovered when he abandoned similar efforts in Texas. And migrant workers in states like New York or Minnesota aren't well-paid enough to fill the union's coffers rapidly. But in Delano they are there to stay and they have the money.

Hence, Chavez' fascination with central California. And hence the pickers' lack of interest in Chavez. The crops of those fields supposedly struck have been picked regularly, not by migrants but by long-time resident pickers who daily brave the abuse of Chavez' "nonviolent" migrant pickets, for the most part campus New Leftists and young Mexican-Americans from cities such as Oakland. Chavez must import his pickets because the farm workers will not strike. And because there is no real strike he must resort to the tactic of the secondary boycott of grocery stores.

Other aspects of worker-grower relationships have similarly been ignored by Chavez sympathizers. Delano pickers, for instance, enjoy more comprehensive protection—workmen's compensation, disability insurance, child labor law, minimum wage law for women and minors, etc.—than farm-workers in any other state. Any worker unable to provide his own transportation receives it without charge, and the rent-free housing furnished by the owners is clean and modern. The growers believe that their relations with their workers have consistently been the best in the country, and they resent the caricatures of them drawn by Breslin and his ilk. The grape farms in Delano, they point out, are not, as is customarily charged, controlled by large corporations. Of Delano's seventy ranches, all but two are family-owned and operated. And these are not fat-cat families. Most of them came as immigrants from Armenia, Yugoslavia and Italy and acquired their land plot by plot. They are not opposed to unions *per se*, but they are caught in a price squeeze (while costs have risen nearly 100 per cent over the past decade, table-grapes sell for approximately the same price per pound as in 1957), and the failure of a single crop could wipe most of them out. Thus, although the idea of unionization is not repulsive to them, the idea of a strike at the crucial harvesting time is. Unlike most industries, agriculture is at the mercy of strikes. Perishable crops must be harvested immediately.

AND SO the growers continue to fight a lonely fight against Chavez. If they lose, if Chavez succeeds in imposing his union on the unwilling Delano pickers, the growers believe that their only alternative will be to convert their table-grape crops to wine grapes, since wine grapes can be gathered by machine. If this happens, thousands of relatively prosperous farm-workers in California will be thrown out of work. This will no doubt please people like Jimmy Breslin, since it will provide infinitely more material for tearful columns. □

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AN UNEASY AXIS

New Leftists and Negro extremists have different goals. We should recognize their incompatibility, says Mr. Brudnoy, and deal with them separately before they tear the campuses, and the society, apart

New Left and Negro Extremism

DAVID BRUDNOY

"WHEN THE POT BOILS, the scum rises to the top." The Revolutionary War patriot James Otis thus unintentionally presaged the emergence of today's campus Scylla and Charybdis: Negro extremism and the New Left, the connection between which is ambiguous. Do these two movements feed symbiotically on each other to their mutual advantage; does one parasitically feed on the other; or if neither, then what is their relationship? Negro extremism (as opposed to positive thrusts by Negroes to share the American pie through legitimate means) is everywhere blatant and disconcerting to all but those blinkards who see no Negro evil, hear no Negro evil and resolutely refuse to speak of any, but who instead blame every woe on white racism. Directed against just about every conceivable aspect of America's dominant mores and against moderation in action, Negro extremism takes many forms. Muhammad Ali, the former Cassius Clay, says: "Nature will never let the two peoples integrate. It's bucking the law of God," while CORE's Roy Innis, playing the fashionable "black" game, castigates Edward Brooke as "not a black senator. He doesn't even look black." Our federal watchdog orders schools *not* to operate segregated Negro facilities and programs—such as Antioch's, which somehow includes *karate*. Negro Roy Wilkins objects to those jim-crow programs and white CCNY ex-President Buell Gallagher calls them "not only illegal but immoral." To Negro professor Jean Wiley of Federal City College "this is what we all felt [the government] would do," meaning that Uncle Sam so hates his Negroes that he denies them their own-begotten segregation.

At Michigan's predominantly white Wayne State University, the student newspaper has fallen into the hands of Negro extremists who've turned it into a Black Panther, socialist, anti-Zionist daily. "We're through with objective journalism," its editor boasts. Doing Eldridge's work in his absence, Kathleen Cleaver so incited the girls at California's Mills College that fifty screaming harridans went on an unladylike rampage, causing the administration to accede to *all* the Black Student Union demands, including giving Negro students the power to hire and fire Negro professors and administrators. "I won't deny that I don't know where I'm at," said Malcolm X shortly before his death, an admission helpful to *Liberator* editor Daniel Watts, who finds "Malcolm . . . the most important tool of the revolution—we can ascribe everything to him." Stokely Carmichael, who "believe[s] in violence. I am using all the money I can raise to buy arms . . . to . . . kill policemen," is echoed by the Negro boy at Wisconsin who thinks "the only power we have is the power to disrupt."

Though Whitney Young advises his people to "claim everything you've got coming, withdraw for unity and plot strategy," he also cautions: "We're not going to separate." But others want just that, demanding that "whitey" allow Negroes to segregate themselves and then be implored to return to the society from which they were once barred. San Francisco State's Nathan Hare demands the usual (Negroes only, to teach Negroes) and the "relevant": courses on the "literature of blackness, sculpture of blackness, geography of blackness," because "it's all a matter of whether you want to emphasize stocks and bonds, the principles of the A-bomb, or the elimination of rats."

At taxpayer-supported Federal City College in Washington, D. C., Negro separatists, comprising the faculty majority, recently proposed a curriculum devoted to "decolonization of the mind" and elimination of "white values of the entering students," including "black

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English, black physical education and black mathematics," *inter alia*. Contemplate black mathematics, an example of which was given: "If you loot one store and burn two, how many do you have left?" Contemplate black chemistry, as visualized by one San Francisco State Negro professor, who taught his class to make napalm: "They could pour it on a piece of meat or on the police . . . and see exactly how it works," he explained. Federal City's Black Studies director James Garrett, on tour in Oregon, gave a similar demonstration (how to make firebombs and grenades) on the anniversary of Malcolm's death. (Hitler's Germany had courses called "German physics," which meant non-Jewish physics. I suppose "black physics" is next.) Federal City's *Spectrum* editorializes weekly against anyone questioning the wisdom of this program. Result? Its most renowned professor, Kenneth Lynn, formerly of Harvard, is seriously considering leaving, along with President Frank Farner and Provost David Dickson. "I'm a little tired of this nonsense of black, black, black," said Negro professor Margaret Butcher, who is obviously not long for Federal City College. Nevertheless, the school will survive with the $11.4 million it asks of Congress; and black physical education "to strengthen the body and teach weaponry" will round out this "total immersion program" which *all* students will be *required* to endure.

Riding the Storm

"Tired of this nonsense"; who isn't? Plenty of people who don't yet realize how black studies can become non-subjects, or worse, training grounds for what Stewart Alsop calls the "coming holocaust" fostered by the "black racism being fed to young Negroes [which is] just as nauseous as the racism of Herr Goebbels or the Kluxers." "Take ten," Alsop explains, means take ten honkies with you when you go. Along with Malcolm's *Autobiography* and Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*, Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1963) is one of the blazing manifestos for campus Negro extremists. Essentially a manual of how to "take ten," Fanon's book advises: "Violence alone . . . makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths. . . . Finding your fellow countrymen, sometimes means . . . to will to be a nigger, not a nigger like all other niggers but a real nigger, a Negro cur, just the sort of nigger that the white man wants you to be."

College officials, white and Negro alike, are especially vulnerable: the newspaper at Texas Southern University, where I taught, recently damned Negro President Granville Sawyer's "latest shuffle to Austin" (like all state college presidents, Sawyer must appear before the legislature periodically) and his description of TSU as "corrective." Labeled a "Tom," Sawyer has met the students' seven demands (including a 10 to 1 Negro to white ratio for hiring teachers) with seven demands of his own (including TSU's right to *be* a university and "not a refuge for ignorance and stupidity"). And the white academician wearing battle ribbons with oak-leaf clusters from the civil rights wars, such as San Francisco State's John Bunzel, is victimized if he criticizes anything black, like the excesses of Black Panther Instructor George Murray and Professor Nathan Hare: "You are a perfect symbol. You are over forty years old, you are white, and you have a Ph.D. You are visible. . . . Your arguments are always rational and organized but, most of all, you are a liberal," said one of the students who has harassed him. Professor Bunzel is a bum, but nineteen-year-old Tim Peebles, Negro bomb-planter who lost his sight and his hands when his bomb exploded prematurely, is a victim of white racism. MIT philosopher Houston Smith writes (*Wall Street Journal*) that "black power is the force causing the greatest schizophrenia on the campus. . . . [It] splits individuals right down the middle." It's not only schizophrenia, it's Orwell's Newspeak or Alice's Looking Glass.

All the old friends are now called enemies; is it any wonder that students are confused? Or that sane men are incensed by this madness? A century ago abolitionist Wendell Phillips defined "demagogue" as one who "rides the storm, using it narrowly, ignorantly, and for selfish ends," which definition aptly fits the actions of Negro students pressing for autonomous "black" departments, a convenient way to punish whitey for his inherited sins. Carl Rowan today condemns demagogic, "power-hungry, publicity-seeking blacks castigat[ing] a black man of integrity like Roy Wilkins," and chastizes his fellow Negroes who have "no right to dictate what is or is not taught in a black studies program, or to hire and fire the teachers," since no grievance "justifies violence, destruction of property, kidnaping deans, or . . . taking over buildings." An Alabama Negro teacher, W. H. Edwards, who complained to the *New York Times* of the "illogical behavior" of some Negroes, may be exceptional, but he is nonetheless shrewd: "Silly demands made by the few Negroes in well-established institutions show their inability to cope with the white man intellectually. . . . they were troublemakers at home and they will be troublemakers wherever they go. I have one remedy for the black militant: go to South Africa."

Liberal Dialectic

How many whites have Mr. Edwards' guts? Walter Reuther tells us that "I happen to think that white and black together are the most beautiful," though his aesthetics hardly constitute a recognition of the profound wickedness of Negro extremism. Recent investigation of the New Left by Senator Thomas Dodd's subcommittee casts one sidewise swipe at Martin Luther King's "recklessness," but King's canonization by liberals has made him sacrosanct, except to such Negro organs as *Liberator*, which attacks him in 1969 as "the arch integrationist." So long as people use King's name as armor, they are shielded in righteousness, no matter how demagogic their statements.

The safest avenue open to white liberals wishing to strike a responsible chord is to condemn, with Professor John Roche, the "shattering of the framework of public order" and the "flagrant acts of lawlessness" of campus disrupters, or with University of Denver President Maurice Mitchell to unmask the "charlatanry" of sit-inners desiring to "be martyrs . . . thrown to toothless lions." But since liberals subscribe to two contradictory views simultaneously —that every man must be judged individually, and that groups must be seen as environmentally conditioned— they are stymied: whites "should know better," but Negroes are the "victims of society," etc. With zealous goodwill, whites, who haven't yet discerned the vast gulf separating civil rights from Negro extremism, react with a charitable tolerance for Negro extremism bordering on the suicidal. It is far easier for Harvard's Nathan Pusey to eject two hundred, white, howling, SDS injustice-collectors from a seized building after ten hours than for Brandeis'

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Morris Abram to oust sixty squatting Negroes after ten days. Easier psychologically, easier within the pusillanimous double-standard which liberal ideology has become.

I: *Prophets of the Revolution*

THE CAUCASIAN counterparts of Negro extremists are the New Leftists, whom semanticist S. I. Hayakawa colorfully calls "dissidents, drug-users, agitators, anarchists, hooligans, yahoos, gangsters, fanatics, cowards, savages." Unlike Negro extremism, which has a plethora of prophets, dead and quick, the jack-leg revolutionaries of the New Left have only one super-seer. Everyone else is an unhardy perennial, blossoming and withering each in his season; Herbert Marcuse blooms eternal. A German-Jewish immigrant from Berlin, late of Brandeis, now of San Diego, Professor Marcuse stomps on thought and glorifies violence. Irremediably bad, America must be rejected, destroyed, because it cannot be reformed. Whites (but not Negroes) are too brainwashed to realize they're slaves, and so leftist students are free to "liberate" America. Tolerance is a hoax, serving the bourgeoisie alone; intolerance (he calls it "repressive tolerance") is the cure-all for America's deranged, irrational, rotten society. Violence by the Left is *not* violence; it only breaks the chain of violence initiated by the oppressors. Mr. Marcuse's prophecy for all seasons: if the state "tolerates" the Left, it is devious; when it doesn't, it is repressive. Should Marcuse's neo-Sorelian minions seize power, they'll only be repressive.

Recently Mr. Marcuse, who says "politeness has lost its value," explained why his New Left disciples act as they do: "The monopoly on violence rests with the established authorities." Since the Left "has practically no access to the mass media . . . we really don't have a free exchange of ideas in this country." Among students who, according to a 1969 *Fortune* poll, "greatly admire" Stokely and Che (Harvard's SDS named its seized hall after Che), Mr. Marcuse finds his audience. At the University of Kansas, which now prohibits firearms on campus, the leftist Artaud Romantic Tautological Society summons "all black Americans, Third World students, and potential John Browns to arm themselves and fight against the present and coming oppression." We've called them Spock Babies; surely Mr. Marcuse deserves some credit for these super-tantrums.

"In recent years there has been a tendency to condone the use of violence if it travels under the false passport of nonviolence, and to condone out and out violence because it is in a 'good cause,'" writes Professor Daniel Boorstin. And how is this violence received? At Montreal's Sir George Williams University, where students did $2-million worth of damage one *Walpurgisnacht*, acting principal Douglass Clark, moaned: "Painful as the task may be, the university has the duty to see that academic freedom is preserved. . . ." Who can possibly know nowadays whether Clark's emphasis is on "painful task" or on the university's "duty"?

The New Left is an arrogant, perverse Putsch, indistinguishable from totalitarianism. Its enemy is the university and society; its tactic, violence; its spirit, romantic anarchism; its goal, change; its Nirvana, a left-wing dictatorship. The Old Left proselytized for a welfare state; this is precisely the state —that in which we live—against which the New Left shrieks its obscenities. The Old Left has "copped out to the Establishment," they cry, like Hitler Youth roaming the streets shouting "out with the old crap." "I don't owe this damn country anything," sneers one Southern SDSer, while a Rutgers counterpart declares in sheer rage: "I'm a nihilist. I want to ---- this goddam country." New Left spokesman Carl Oglesby charts the New Leftist's position: ". . . sophisticated and in error, or primitive and correct . . . invincible, absurd, both, or neither. It does not matter. He is on the scene."

"A few short years ago, anti-intellectualism was an epithet of derogation. Today it is an expression of revolutionary virility," writes Professor Sidney Hook of NYU. "Fanatics don't lack sincerity. . . . They drip with sincerity and, when they have power, with blood—other people's blood." Liberalism they despise as a mockery; conservatism (liberty, tolerance, reverence, restraint, prescription, tradition) is beyond their ken. Why? Perhaps because their parents instill in them few positive values; their meddlesome government coddles and anesthetizes them with promises of cradle-to-grave security if they can cool it until Congress does its miraculous works; and their teachers, often pitiable imitations of men of ideas, offer them King, Spock, Marcuse, and Father Groppi as heroes. Twenty years ago, C. S. Lewis told us: "We make men without chests and expect of them virtue and enterprise. We laugh at honor and are shocked to find traitors in our midst. We castrate and bid the geldings be fruitful."

Northwestern historian Christopher Lasch's *The Agony of the American Left* warns the Left of its continual impotence, its repeated reversion to violence since it lacks a cohesive philosophy. Reviewing Lasch's book in the *Times*, Princeton historian Martin Duberman signaled agreement with Lasch's anti-Americanism ("that attitude in the main cannot be faulted") and suggested the future centering of the American young in "the senses and emotions . . . spontaneous, casual, experimental," to break "society's hitherto dominant values of rationalism, puritanism, materialism and individualism." Among the brightest scholars of the New Left, Professors Duberman and Lasch see it as starved for an intellectual basis, while Harold Cruse's *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* similarly sees the Negro intellectual as torn between white and Negro culture, too torn from within yet to formulate a coherent ideology for the Negro Left. Cruse tells us that Negroes must give America a culture, since we lack one—a tall order. Cruse warns that Jews have dominated scholarship and co-opted Negro matters, that liberals are unsympathetic to all but gradual change, and that "the Negro community must always be the last refuge and the ultimate hope of the American left wing, when it is on the downgrade."

The Ultimate Emptiness

Are the New Leftists Communists? Only in a truncated sense, except where, as at Columbia and Harvard, SDS is sometimes dominated by the Maoist Progressive Labor groups. Are they socialists? Marcuse hopes they *will be*, while New England SDS organizer Eric Mann says: "SDS *is* socialist." But what kind of socialist? "We seek an alliance with working men *against* the union heads who are tied to management. We've gotten large numbers of people to agree with us that America is an unjust society, but we haven't devised a plan yet for how to change it." SDS offers American society one thing only, its own constant catharsis, violence.

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Historian Daniel Boorstin neatly cuts through the debris of today's rhetoric, suggesting that student extremists are "ego-letarians" questing for *power*, sponsoring a "self-centered Ptolemaic Revolution of sensation." They are "new barbarians" for whom "each little victory for student power or black power . . . is a victory for the New Barbarism. Appropriately, the New Barbarism makes its first sallies and has its greatest initial successes against the universities, which are the repositories of experience, and in the cause of Racism, which—whether . . . black or . . . Aryan—is the emptiness to end all emptinesses" (*Esquire*, October 1968).

II: *Twin Cancers*

THOUGH the New Left and Negro extremism are alike repugnant, they are otherwise essentially dissimilar. 1) Marxist doctrine teaches—and reality here corroborates Marx—that a class *qua* class does not generally act in the interest of another class. White leftists are overwhelmingly middle-class, upper middle-class especially; Negroes are generally lower class. 2) As Karl Mannheim predicted, white leftist students are déclassé, "free-floating," without their hitherto clearly defined role after college in the hierarchy of society. Now "liberal arts" students (who form the great mass of campus disrupters) have become functionally superfluous. What shall they do? 3) Professor Marcuse teaches that only students *can* cause the new revolution, can stand *for* and show the way *to* their "black brothers"; and their "white mindless brothers"; the proletariat is too drugged by the media to be revolutionary itself.

4) Though Marcusianism lets students *think* this, the interests of Negroes and white poor and white workers and Jewish middle-class students are in fact not only not identical, but are frequently in opposition, dissimilar in background and divergent in their conditioned responses. In precisely that manner in which Negro militants phrase it, *they* will do *their own thing*. As Cruse says, "[Black power] proposes to change, not the white world outside, but the black world inside. . . . Negro intellectuals have never really exerted themselves and gotten fully involved in the ideological fracas. To the Negro intellectual elite, cultural issues represent no political problems for the black masses and have little connection, if any, with their troubles."

5) Orthodox Marxism, with which New Leftism rhetorically differs, but with which it flirts and toward which it is clearly drifting, is a *class* movement for which race and religion and ideas are *irrelevant*. Though most Negroes are lower-class, it is as *proletarians*, not as Negroes, that Marxism finds them "appealing." The more white leftism blathers about the overthrowing of the "bourgeois" power structure by "downtrodden masses" under the leadership of "intellectuals," the more it diverges from Negro extremism, a predominantly *race*-based movement, uninterested, except tactically at times, in other groups. The leftist struggle is a class conflict in theory, with the "wrong" class—white middle-class Jews—doing the leading; the Negro nationalist struggle, as Cruse sees it perceptively, is a peculiarly American "anticolonialist" struggle. In sociological terms, Negroes are "upward mobile" just by *being* in college; whereas white leftists are, by their own perception, "downward mobile," "rejecting" middle-class values and life-style. The Negro extremist who is up on his leftist poetry might repeat what John Reed, the Communist, wrote of his Harvard classmate Walter Lippmann, that the white leftist "*wants to make the human race and me/March to a geometric Q.E.D.*" And surely the white leftist must realize that to support Negro extremism today, he must stand *for* the Third World, taking the whole muddled package if he takes it at all.

Negro extremists, New Leftists and the rest of us should be aware of the parallel which psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim finds between student extremism today and conditions in pre-Hitler Germany, whose youths saw themselves as idealistic, fighting against parental complacency and for a better world. Then came Hitler, responding to their call. Here there is less chance that a force responding to the hysteria of New Leftism and/or of Negro extremism will gain control, than that these groups could precipitate a fascist-type reaction. Through understanding the fundamental incompatability of the two new barbarisms, we can learn how to deal with them individually before the matter slips from the hands of responsible conservatives and liberals and falls into the clutches of those who would curtail the legitimate liberties of *all* Americans in order to destroy the twin cancers of New Leftism and Negro extremism. □

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LETTER FROM LIMA

Second Thoughts

JON BASIL UTLEY

PERU CAN BE VIEWED as a classic example of how good intentions, unless based on a true understanding of politics and human nature, can lead to the worst results. Although application of the penalties of the Hickenlooper Amendment has been postponed until August the problem it has posed in our confrontation with Peru remains unsolved and may yet damage our interests in all of Latin America.

For years well-intentioned bureaucrats lavished our aid all over the world with scant regard for American interests or even American principles, in many cases directly subsidizing uneconomic socialist dreams and regimes. The natural reaction has been a continually declining foreign aid appropriation, an isolationist reaction in the U.S. against those "ungrateful foreigners," and the Hickenlooper Amendment, which is a blanket order to the Executive to curtail all aid and agricultural subsidies to any country which confiscates U.S. investments for any reason without suitable compensation. Congress was not in a position to judge the nuances and vagaries of particular cases and had for so long had its intentions thwarted by the aid-givers that it simply handcuffed the Executive by its order. The effect, as distinct from the intention, of the Hickenlooper Amendment is that the U.S. Government can be compelled to sacrifice over-all American interests for the sake of backing up every U.S. business abroad, no matter what its abuses or its special problems with a host government.

IPC Abuses

The case of the International Petroleum Corporation in Peru, although not really an abuse, is certainly a unique and very complicated problem both legally and in equity.

Stated in simplified terms Peru's case is that even in colonial times the Spanish land grants and subsequent Peruvian law never included the ownership of underground mineral rights. These were retained by the state, which granted only a limited right to their exploitation starting with the Spanish crown's claim to one-fifth of all precious metals discovered in the New World.

The IPC oil fields were originally open-surface tarpits ceded in 1826 to a Peruvian, José Antonio de la Quintana, who managed to obtain a government decree that he was the owner of a "tar-mine" rather than a concessionaire. Thereafter the property changed hands with title transferred to various owners until Standard Oil's Canadian subsidiary IPC finally acquired it in 1924 from the London and Pacific Petroleum Co.

The Peruvian government maintains: 1) that even though ownership of the surface tarpits was originally ceded, this did not include the underground oil which was then neither known to exist nor of commercial value; 2) that IPC has no legal rights beyond those of the initial exploiters and concessionaires, and was aware at the time of purchase that the Peruvian government was contesting the London and Pacific's claim to ownership, and therefore knew that the title was not "clear"; 3) that IPC had over the years, by means of political payoffs and by influencing the U.S. and British governments to pressure Peru, managed to maintain its title despite Peruvian law; 4) that IPC has therefore illegally made millions out of the oil fields during the past 44 years so that the value of the expropriated property is far less than the lost revenues to the State; 5) that the IPC case is unique and in no way related to the general Peruvian hospitality to foreign capital.

IPC's case is that no matter what happened in the past, it bought a legal title; that it has offered to try to compromise the issue and is innocent of any wrongdoing so that it should not suffer expropriation without adequate compensation. In this connection it is of interest that an informal survey of the American business community in Peru by our Embassy concluded that businessmen were happy to see the U.S. Government finally taking an interest in its citizens' investments, but that IPC's "skirts were by no means clean." In other words IPC was not considered to be an appropriate case on which to make a stand.

After it had expropriated the oil fields, the Peruvian government continued to deliver oil to the IPC distribution network but IPC, denying the government's right to own the fields, underpaid the invoices and, according to the government, made off with millions of dollars of government-owned bank balances. In retaliation Peru proceeded to nationalize the IPC distribution network. By this time the whole issue has become too complex to permit a simple exposition of the legal aspects in a short article.

Over the years the issue, fanned by ambitious politicians, has taken on an emotional nationalistic context with the Peruvian public. President Fernando Belaunde Terry, who was ousted by the present military regime, himself more or less won his election on this issue, although he subsequently drew back from a confrontation with the U.S. Even moderate Peruvians think that IPC, with its enormous economic power, abused Peru's hospitality by continually obtaining special privileges, and by failing to take advantage of past opportunities to renegotiate its legal position under more favorable circumstances than today. It is generally believed that IPC used to find it cheaper and easier to buy off politicians than to negotiate a fair settlement.

Junta Reforms

We should not underestimate the seriousness of the situation. Peru is governed by a military junta which, being military, is considered rightist. But in the nature of today's world in order to stay in power it must appeal to reformist and leftist ideology. The democracy it replaced was not popular and was continually inhibited from pursuing effective action by the usual divisive personality cults, lack of a spirit of compromise and corruption at the lower levels which characterize and destroy so many Latin and Asian democracies.

The military government is now instituting many unpopular reforms which the country desperately needs. These include bringing the budget into

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balance in order to stabilize the currency and to pay Peru's foreign debt; a real crackdown on corruption; cutting the government payroll as well as making its employees put in a full day's work; and many other sound policies which most "popular" non-Communist governments find themselves unable to implement. The junta has revoked the autonomy of the universities which were previously exempt from police intervention. This immunity had enabled Communist gangs to terrorize the faculties and even murder anti-Communist student leaders with impunity.

Hurting Our Friends

The junta's problem is that in order to stay in power it must appease the popular Left, and the IPC case is the most emotional issue in Peru. We should not assume that overthrow of the junta would mean a return to parliamentary democracy and the restoration of the oil company's properties. Any new government would still be compelled to pursue much the same policy. Peru is at that dangerous stage of development where it is most vulnerable to leftist pressures. It is not when people are illiterate and hungry that they cause social convulsions, but rather when they are rising out of such conditions. In its own way Peru reminds me of Cuba before Castro in its show of ostentatious wealth amidst grinding poverty and the propensity of its upper and middle classes to emulate the American way of life. As formerly in Cuba, there is a vast cultural gulf between the middle and lower classes in contrast to such countries as Colombia or Argentina where rich and poor have the same cultural outlook and tastes.

Peru and neighboring Bolivia, with their millions of unassimilated poverty-stricken Indians, are potentially the most explosive countries in the hemisphere.

What Peru needs most are the type of reforms the junta is carrying out, and above all an efficient and honest government. Democracy in Latin America, except under the leadership of an exceptionally strong-willed and popular figure, usually has meant that the oligarchy in one way or another buys off each succeeding government. In Peru as in many underdeveloped countries the military is in some ways more representative of the people than the politicians. For example, General Velasco Alvarado, the President, came up from the ranks. The army teaches literacy to the peasants and in the army the poorest can rise on the basis of ability. Just as in the United States the underprivileged often find more opportunity in the armed forces than in civilian life.

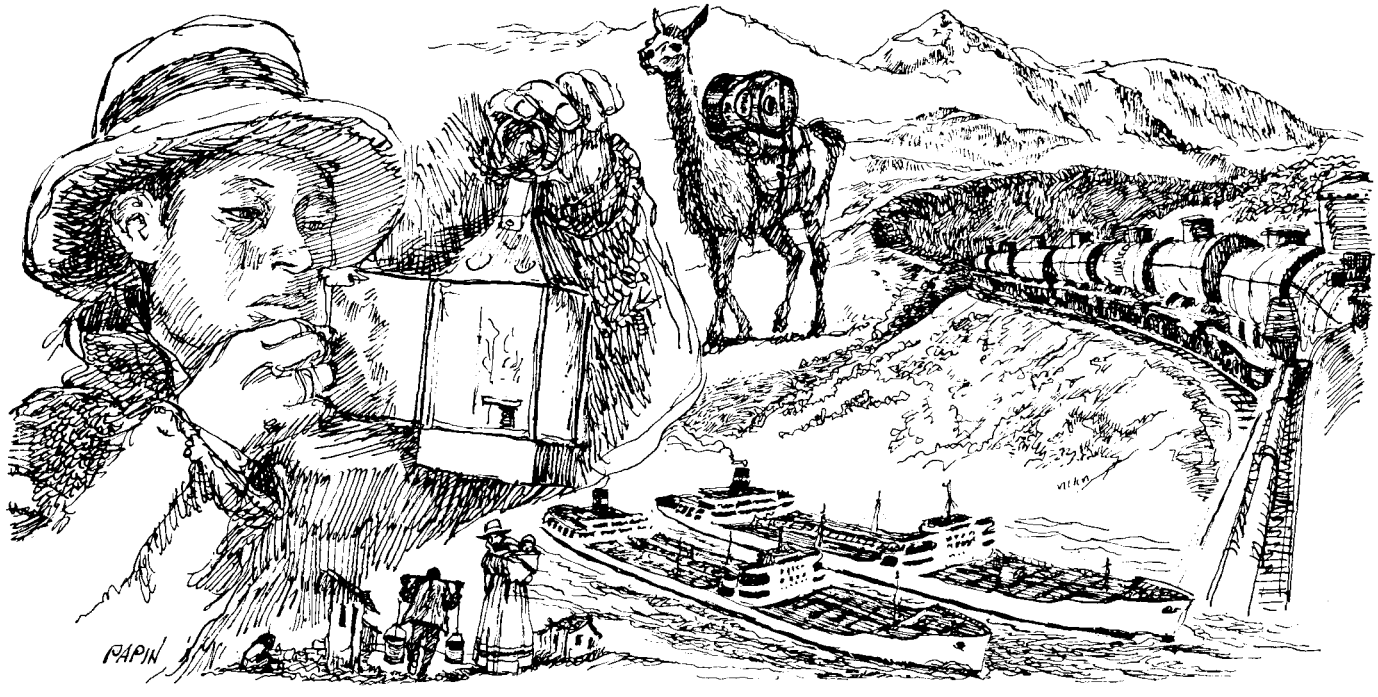
Peru receives only negligible foreign aid from the United States so that the main brunt of the application of the Hickenlooper Amendment would be loss of her sugar quota which would indeed throw thousands out of work and bring vast unemployment to much of the countryside. Far more serious would be its effect in frightening off new investment and in thwarting government efforts to pay off its foreign debt and to stabilize the currency. It could bring on a destructive inflation which would hurt most those very middle-class elements that are most friendly to us. Although the Amendment's official penalties have been postponed, millions of dollars of new investment plans and credits are now being held up pending a final decision. Peru is historically one of the really "free enterprise" countries in Latin America. It has recently developed itself at an incredible pace as compared to semi-socialist Chile which stagnates with much more U.S. aid.

Rallying Point

We should realize that the IPC is a special case and find some way to avoid applying the Hickenlooper Amendment which was surely not intended for a situation such as this. Moreover, the company is legally Canadian which would seem to give the Administration a way out. The United States has many other profitable mining, manufacturing and oil investments which have not been affected but which might well be should the Left gain ascendancy.

Although the situation continues to deteriorate, largely because of Peru's fining of U.S. fishing boats within the

(Continues on page 661)



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FRANK S. MEYER

APOTHEOSIS OF THE CRYBABY

PRINCIPLES AND HERESIES

A great deal of nonsense has been written in this century; but for nonsense, and obnoxious nonsense at that, it would be hard to equal the acres of verbiage spread over our press on the contemporary student "revolt." With the exception of a few sharp and clear remarks from people like Vice President Agnew and Professors Hook and Hayakawa, there is little to choose between high political functionaries like Humphrey and Finch, college presidents of the order of Cornell's Perkins and CCNY's Gallagher, the run-of-the-mill product of the *New York Times* and the networks, the labored outpouring of the liberal and radical journals, and the incendiary bombast of a Cohn-Bendit, a Tom Hayden or a Mark Rudd.

Early Vintage Spock

What is so obnoxious in these consanguineous lucubrations is not merely, or perhaps even primarily, the political outlook—a mating of liberal masochism with the sheer overweening insolence of the intellectually unwashed radical. That, Heaven knows, is bad enough. But worse, much worse, is the philosophical and moral concept of the duties and responsibilities of men—even, and especially young men—to other men and to themselves. In the place of those images of excellence of Western civilization, the hero and the saint, the image of this generation of pseudo-revolutionaries and cheap pot mystics (presented for their own emulation and admiration by the radical and hippie segment of the youth and cooingly endorsed by their liberal elders) derives straight from early vintage Spock—the baby that is fed and cuddled every time he howls. In a word, the politics, the sociology, the ethics boil down to a single proposition: the West must sacrifice everything civilization has achieved of wisdom, beauty, the ordered hierarchy of values, to make the morally uncouth and intellectually lazy spawn of SDS and Haight-Ashbury feel happy, wanted and secure. *Fiat infantia, ruat coelum.*

With all this pounding at me from every side, I was somewhat distressed to find in NATIONAL REVIEW (June 17) the article by John Rothchild entitled "The Un-silent Generation." It might be that Mr. Rothchild is a practitioner of the dying art of irony by flat presentation of the atrocious. But somehow I doubt it. His rhetoric throughout reflects too closely the underlying assumptions of liberal and radical discourse; nor is there anywhere in his article criticism, explicit or implicit, direct or ironic, of those assumptions.

In the first place, liberal-radical discourse assumes that the noisy and the violent speak for the majority—an assumption that as recently as the middle of June was disproved for anyone who listened to the resounding chorus of boos that greeted the exhibitions of the radicals at the CCNY and Harvard commencements. And not only is the assumption made that they speak for the majority, but also the existence of a vocal, determined and hard fighting opposition (which has come to my attention on campus after campus) is utterly ignored. It is indeed astonishing how the cooperative media, for their own suicidal reasons, have given unstinted attention to any long-haired, bearded agitator, while effectively blocking out every action of the conservative and sober-liberal student resistance.

Mr. Rothchild seems to be largely in accord with this myth of the radical as representative of the student body: "The majority does little to oppose [the radicals], perhaps through some kind of fear, but perhaps also because the vocal few are expressing the doubts and anxieties of the many. . . . To understand students in 1969, we must try to understand why [the radicals] are this way."

Alongside of his total neglect of the conservative opposition (which, incidentally, won a signal victory this spring at his own university, Yale) and his dismissal of the majority, Mr. Rothchild echoes another liberal-radical canard, the slander of the university students of the Fifties. The "silent generation," at a time of life when their duty was to learn, had the sense not to presume, from their ignorance and lack of experience, to an instantaneous solution of problems that men of vast experience and learning have struggled with for centuries. But for Mr. Rothchild the self-styled leaders of today's generation "liven up the intellectual vacuum created by the Silent Generation."

I Want, I Want . . .

These are, as it were, the formal assumptions on the basis of which what could have been an easily suppressed fringe of nihilist enemies of civilization have been elevated, with the enthusiastic cooperation of a thousand TV programs and articles (including Mr. Rothchild's), into a serious and dangerously destructive force. There remain the assumptions of content, with which Mr. Rothchild's article is also replete—the caricature of man's destiny in the world, derived (indirectly in most cases, since generally speaking these "leaders of the generation" don't read) from the terroristic neo-Marxism of Debray and Marcuse and the solipsistic neo-Freudianism of Norman Brown.

"He does not want to study what his society wants him to study. . . ." He does not want to be "just another doctor or just another lawyer." "He is afraid he will not find a central or important place in society. . . ." I want, I want, I want . . . and if I don't get it, I'll burn the place down.

The portrait is clear. It is the portrait of an outraged baby who has not gotten what he wants—but, sadly for our society, a baby who has achieved the physical stature to demonstrate, occupy, and throw Molotov cocktails. □

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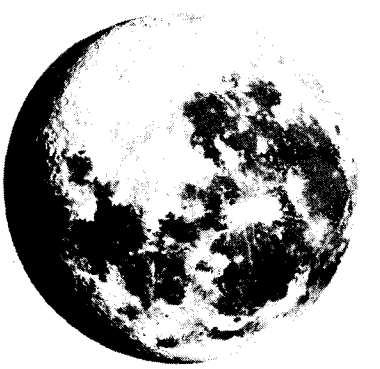
Moon Landing at Harvard

So all the straws in the Chimney Sweep at Upsand Downs
Got their flu shots fer faults in St. Andy's powder structure. Souns
Like anither earthquack
Prack
Icin mad
Icine wifout a license: Peanut Buddha's bad
For the stomach before bedlamentations of Job Corps pipil:
Hate ! you wanna be my discipil;
Herbs is good for kicks:
Love marx the spot fer a fix
Anyone can make a million duck
Soup up de humin appetite fer humburgers. Muck
Is the Wave of the Future,
Seein' how Troot really doesn't suture.
So make Che ! while the shill shines.
Round up the usual Susskines.
Bless me, Fardor:
The Love Machine is out of ardor.
An de parse
Word: WANTED ! An evergreen mug shot in the arse
Nal whilst trying to stuff a general
Store wif Crap's last grape. Kenner'll
Roll his i's like Eddie Cantos singin' de Holy Barbaros Blues.
It aint the don'ts that bug me, bhaby, it's de dues:
An don trust no
Hippiecrite over dirty-five. Ho
Many times I gotter tell you the Port O' N.Y. Complaint Box
Iz closed ter sex feends ? Traffic's all backed up for blox
Fill yer mind wit freedom,
Apple peyote-in-the-sky's waiting, so eedom
All up, Luv, thas a good Hieronymus Botch;
Course I read *Reflections on a Sinking Crotch*
Et Needle. Now what's all this crap about no movie tonight,
Captain Blight;
United Fruit, Inc. will hear about this bet you sweet, pink night
I.e.,
He got a game leg but the rest o' him caved in long time ago, see.
Dat no-count heretic makin' eight day novenas jes t'upset de Pope;
Whoever herd of baby irrelephants on a slippery slope
Making it home safe to smother, eh, Danny
Calliban has *so* got two l's (like in helliport, 'gainst which the
rates of ICC shall knot); canny
'S good for kids: makes 'em stick together jes fine.
An howcum you saved the good whine
Till now ? Celibating de Fort
Wit a fifth on de third ? Lawd, we swished all night and caught
Nuffin.
Ottaviani's puffin'.
Peter, Peter had a wife and couldn't keepa:
That's why the sheepa
Wrestlers tonight ?
His Bark is getting worse than his bite ?
An Bertie would be a ninety-seven year old weakling today, Ace,
'Cept God kicked sand in his face
Oncet too often. God so smart how come He aint ?
Rich, Man ! Paint
Over the numbers like Daddy.
Pablo. Faddy
Sinartre's a gas !
Got a pass
Port to Speed
Uncle, all de camels he ever need
Le jeune filly, and *angst.*
Dickmelev is a gangst
Er, the east end o' a jackass headed west
Ern civiliz
Ation is
Haddit !
Jes too baddit
Wont last till nex Tuesday cause thas the day I'm having yer dean
Over to wean
Ie roast him,
Jim.
You aint fraid this little ol' McCarthy Era gat
Are you ? That case, bring Nat.

The End.

by Johannes Eff



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ON CAMPUS AND OFF

Gatsby Lives

ANTHONY R. DOLAN

AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY there is a new magazine. It is one of those rare publishing ventures —an instant, phenomenal success.

It began publication a year ago with an impudent first issue of fifty thousand copies and, since then, has been moving along at 200,000 copies per quarter. The magazine is written by and for students, and it reaches tens of thousands of them. (It is mailed to nearly every student in the Ivy League as well as to many more students in the larger Western and Midwestern schools.) And with each issue, from deans and students and professors, the mail, favorable and otherwise, comes pouring in.

A student mag then . . . so what's it about? The draft? Folk-rock?

Ready? The name is *Business Today* and it's about . . . Business! The magazine is not only *about* business; it's *pro* business. The editors made their viewpoint plain in the first issue, "If you're out to save the world," they told their flabbergasted peers, "the business community is the place to do it." And they are, you have my word, the first to tell an interviewer of their unabashed belief in the "morality and efficacy of the free-enterprise system."

Editor-in-chief Jonathan Perel, Class of '71, tells us of the magazine's beginnings: "When I first came to Princeton I was shocked at the misinformation on the part of both students and professors about business." (The professors, incidentally, have not, as yet, expressed themselves on Perel's remarkable capacity as a freshman to evaluate the faculty's ignorance.) "Because most of them had never been exposed to business life they had simply accepted as true the cliché that business is selfish and antisocial. They couldn't understand that the success or failure of a business enterprise depends on whether or not it provides a service to the community."

And so, Perel and classmates like editor Stephen Forbes (of, incidentally, *the* Forbes family), intent on doing what they could about the so-called "misinformation," decided to publish a pro-business quarterly. Says Perel of their intentions: "When business tries to defend itself, students tend to shrug it off as self-serving propaganda. We figured that students will listen to other students—that a student-run business magazine would get a better hearing." They figured right.

Business Today has defended, vigorously and plausibly, the profits of the drug industry; it has discovered virtue in the Dow Chemical Company; it has published a noted business economist's account of the confusions of the academy's economists; and it has reported at length on the initiatives private business has taken in the war on poverty. Such is their iconoclasm that they have actually criticized Senator Eugene McCarthy, supported Richard Nixon, and written about Columbia that they "found it a refreshing sight to see the cops, their clubs a-swingin', disrupt a band of willful ruffians disrupting an entire university." Talk about nerve.

Things are not, however, totally one-sided. Ralph Nader has written for the editors several bits of pure Nader. In the latest issue, George McGovern harrumphs about the military-industrial complex, and in the same issue, there is a sharp attack on the advertising campaigns of the automobile industry. Perel explains the incongruity like this: "We publish articles that the editors may disagree with because we think that business also needs to learn a few things. Many businessmen don't even know what criticisms are being made of business by students and intellectuals. We're not trying just to defend business ourselves, we're also attempting to establish some kind of dialogue."

And the search for dialogue isn't rebuffed. Sure there are the Yale economics major who thought the magazine a glorious spoof of *Business Week* and the Harvard student who wrote to congratulate the editors on their "hilarious parody of *U.S. News & World Report*," ha ha ha, but the response has been surprisingly thoughtful. Deans and professors at several business schools have written in their suggestions; Henry Ford has sent in a four-page reply to Nader; and many students have written—wondering, questioning, criticizing.

Moreover, the magazine does not suffer from the stigmata of opinion journalism. It is slick and attractive; it has color; and its lay-out editor could teach a thing or two to his elders. Most important, it has, with the help of ambitious sophomore advertising director Edward Scudder, seduced full-pagers from just about every important business concern in the universe.

"WE'VE BEEN A SUCCESS," says Stephen Forbes in his office just a few blocks from Scott Fitzgerald's old eating club, "because we had a good idea and worked hard at it. We're trying to demonstrate that it's still possible for business to be an outlet for man's creative urge. It sounds corny but today business can make dreams a reality. I think our success with the magazine has proven that."

It doesn't just sound corny; it *is* corny. Success stories are corny. Like America. America would be a lot less corny if there were a lot less business and a lot more poverty. The Princeton people are edging over towards making that corny point. □

Why Colors Run

The first to call the coward Yellow
Can not have known that bravest fellow
Who forced his blade up through the chill
And frozen earth—the Daffodil.
No more descriptive is the hue
Man gives to sadness—calls it Blue.
Anchusa, chicory and flax
Attest his glossary is lax.
(Those who would further rhapsodize
Will want to mention seas and skies.)
Dianthus, or the garden Pink,
It used, we grieve to say, to link
The color of that fragrant spice
With ideologies not nice,
While Bleedingheart (Dicentra) now
Mourns causes that we disavow.
Mention of Red makes many wonder
Who's got in bed with whom, or under.

To guilt association shun
No wonder then that colors run

ELIZABETH MANNING

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MANY

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DELECTATIONS

Confessions of an Air Traveler

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

LET ME make it perfectly clear at the outset that I was not always an enthusiastic air traveler. I must have been the only Air Force officer in World War II who literally had to force himself into a plane, and whose palms were wet with sweat after every take-off. Granted, I was only a ground officer ("the chairborne infantry" we called ourselves), but I wore my hat without its grommet, in the traditionally casual Air Force style, and was not above letting impressionable young ladies assume that my reticence about my service experience masked horrible memories of the flak over Stuttgart. Yet secretly I dreaded the shortest hop.

An Air Force psychiatrist I knew (socially, that is) once told me that my nervousness over air travel was probably based on a profound reluctance to let anyone else—in this case, the pilot—assume complete charge of my life. Looked at that way, the attitude at first seemed almost rational. How, after all, could I be sure that that wretch up front in the cockpit, whom I had never met and often had not even seen, knew his job or cared deeply about my welfare? Logically, of course, the worry wouldn't hold water; one could certainly assume that the pilot cared deeply about his *own* welfare, which for the time being was inextricably linked with mine. The truth was that my fear was quite irrational—neurotic, in fact—and had no legitimate basis whatever.

Globetrotters: Then and Now

To my credit I recognized this, and I never let it stop me from flying. I was, I told myself sternly, a child of the twentieth century, and I would bloody well fly whenever the circumstances indicated it, whether I liked it or not. But the wear and tear was considerable, and my agonies piercingly real, however imaginary the dangers.

Blessedly, a time came when this irrational fear left me—folding its tent like Longfellow's Arab and silently stealing away. I cannot even remember when it happened, let alone explain why. Did I, with the years, gradually overcome that neurotic dread of putting myself wholly in another's keeping? Or was it something more tangible, such as my increasing fund of sheer experience in the air, or the advent of the bigger and markedly more comfortable jets? I just don't know. All I know is that one day I realized that flying no longer held any terrors for me. Now my lifelong love of travel could blend with the superb technology of the jet age, and the great globe revealed itself to me like a bride.

Ever since, I have been a missionary for air travel. I never cease to marvel that there are still many Americans who have yet to ride in a plane. Some, to be sure, are genuinely unable to afford even today's remarkable bargain fares. A great many more, I know full well, are still in the grip of the fear that once clawed at me—and they have my true and special sympathy, though I brusquely tell them (as I once told myself) to fly anyway, dammit. But a large number, I suspect, simply haven't realized how absurdly easy it is, nowadays, to Go Places and Do Things by air.

In 1963, for example, being a bachelor and feeling a sudden impulse to do something especially nice for my mother, I offered to take her on a three-week tour of Western Europe. She was no stay-at-home; she had traveled widely by train and plane in the United States, though not abroad. But her notion of a trip to Europe had been formed in the rotogravure days when it necessarily meant steamer trunks and an ocean voyage, the boat-train to Paris and all the paraphernalia of a six-month Grand Tour, and I had neither time nor money for such an extravaganza. Like a shill for some big travel agency, I sang the siren song of the jet age: "Nonsense! Toss a few things in a suitcase and let's GO!" Which is precisely what she finally did. One morning a huge jet lifted us from the runway at Idlewild; barely six hours later it put us down gently at London, and that night the little lady from Florida fell asleep to the distant hum of Mayfair traffic. It was the beginning of a trip the memory of which she (and I) will always treasure.

The great English travel writer James Morris has said of his own extensive peregrinations:

> If I had been born a generation earlier, I could scarcely have done it in a lifetime. If I had the cosmos to explore, I might not bother to try. But mine is the moment of the jets, between the steamships and the rockets, and this is how the earth's cities seemed to me, during the last of our earthbound years.

From that standpoint, it is not at all a bad time to live. When I was a boy, Lowell Thomas was still basking in his well-earned reputation as a "globe-trotter." In retrospect, one marvels at the miseries travelers are spared today, which he and his contemporaries stoically endured: the long, monotonous sea voyages; the smelly un-airconditioned hotel rooms; the obscure, often poorly-cooked foods; the drinking water that reminded one of Russian roulette; the weary, bone-crunching rides on horses or camels or in rattletrap cars; the unintelligible languages, the endemic diseases, the rampant thievery. Here and there in the world one may still occasionally encounter some passing discomfort or unpleasantness; but I have no doubt world travelers of the Thomas vintage look down on the present generation with positive contempt, as effete and pampered children who are efficiently deprived by their tour planners of all contact with the world "as it really is" (or was).

Hit-and-Run School

Still, I cast my vote enthusiastically for the Here and Now. There is still quite enough of the "real" world left to slake the most inordinate thirst for reality—or for exoticism, which is what most people are actually after. By all means take that sea voyage by freighter if you have the inclination (and the time); just let me take off for Paris this morning by jet, and tonight I shall dine at Maxim's on the Rue Royale.

There is, of course, still plenty of room for the expression of individual preferences. Where, in the first place, do you want to go? Europe is the usual answer, and I certainly endorse it as first choice in the average case; but if you have always had a Thing about Tahiti or Hong Kong, or longed to watch the dawn break over Machu Picchu—why, follow your nose! Europe can wait.

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And then there is the vexed issue of how much to try to pack into a limited time. Here I belong to the hit-and-run school; I will fight any man in the bar who says four days in London (or Paris, or Rome, or Tokyo) simply aren't worth it. But if you're the type who prefers to spend four weeks exploring the chateaux and minor wines of the Loire, or a month rusticating on a houseboat in Srinigar—well, it's your buck, and the world is your oyster.

Whatever your decision, I do most earnestly advise the average traveler to get there by plane. When I suffer my first heart attack, I plan to recover on a long ocean voyage; but while my health lasts, and since my time for pleasure travel is strictly limited, I make my transoceanic journeys (and indeed all long trips) by air. Why should a man or woman with only three or four weeks to spare, spend one or more of them in a floating hotel, when it is far easier (and usually cheaper as well) to get where you're going in six or seven hours and have an extra week to enjoy on the spot?

In the days when I still feared air travel, a transatlantic flight was daunting indeed. There were no jets yet, and the DC-6s and -7s took about four hours to fly up the North American coast and cross Gander, Newfoundland en route to Shannon. By then the effect of such tranquilizers (liquid and otherwise) as I had ingested before leaving had worn off, and I was left to face the terrors of six or seven hours over the open Atlantic alone.

Well, not *quite* alone. Just when I was sure I had detected an ominous rumble in the No. 3 engine, and was mentally reviewing ditching procedures and computing our distance from the nearest land, the door of the pilot's compartment would open and out would step a silver-haired gentleman along the lines of Edward Arnold. He was clearly meant to be a senior vice president of some large bank; but the four gold stripes on his sleeve identified him as our captain, and the serene smile on his face as he passed down the aisle, pausing to chat with each of us for a moment, made me secretly ashamed that I had ever doubted him or his magnificent aircraft.

First- or Economy-Class?

Nowadays captains stay up front; for one thing, there simply isn't time on a big jet to chitchat with everyone. Within two hours after leaving Kennedy, Newfoundland is behind you; in about three-and-a-half more, the great plane has crossed the Irish coast and is descending for the approach to London. But all this will be lost on you anyway. From the moment you enter and fasten your seatbelt, stewardesses ply you with cocktails (the domestic limit of two per passenger does not apply!), serve you a sumptuous meal escorted by appropriate wines, and—if you stay awake—often have electronic gadgets to pipe a half-dozen choices of music to your personal earphones. There are sometimes movies too, but I generally ignore them. Where else, these days, can one read a good book for an hour or two without the phone ringing?

All this is as applicable to economy-class as it is to first. In general, I try to make it a rule to fly economy unless there are special considerations—notably when, on domestic routes, my main meal of the day will be eaten aloft. But I will never forget one flight I took with Bill Buckley from Lisbon to Rome, en route to Africa, in 1962. The plane was scheduled to leave Lisbon at 10:30 A.M., and its route to Rome lay squarely athwart the lunch hour. After solemn deliberation, we agreed that we would fly first-class on that particular segment of the trip. It would be interesting, and not much more expensive, to see what the airline in question would do with its big opportunity.

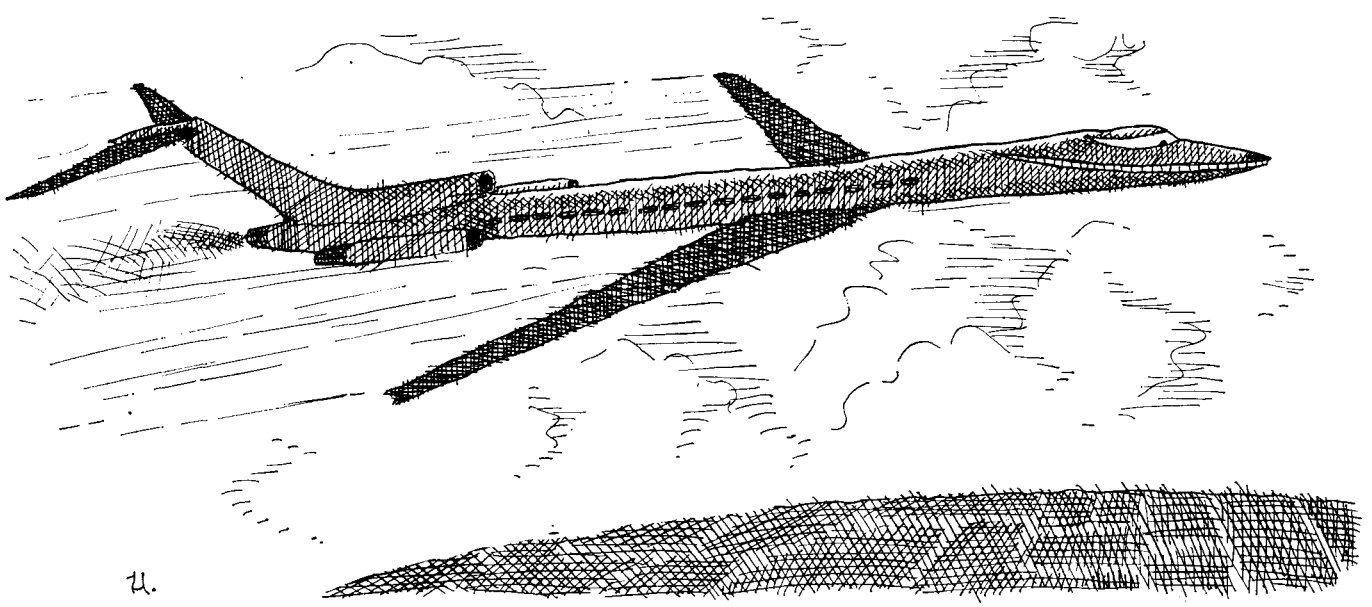
As soon as our DC-8 had taken off from Lisbon, Bill and I had our napkins (figuratively speaking) tucked under our chins and were limbering up our palates. In due course, after preliminary cocktails, the food arrived—or, more precisely, began to arrive. It was plenteous; it was exotic; it was rich; and it was accompanied by a suitable array of red and white table wines. About the only peculiarity was that it was all *cold*—a sort of Giant's Picnic, as it were. When the stewardess had cleared the dishes away, I remarked to Bill that it had all been delicious, but that I could have used a little something warm—if only some soup. Bill agreed.

A few minutes later, as I was staring disconsolately down at the bony Spanish landscape and idly picking my teeth, Bill nudged me and nodded up the aisle.

"Here," he groaned, "comes the second course."

And, sure enough, here it came: endless platters of roast beef, lamb chops, vegetables etc.—and more wine. And dessert. And coffee.

As far as I know, we landed in Rome on time. □



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combat

The Newsletter that keeps you informed about the revolutionary struggle in America today

June 1, 1969

IGENCE LEAK * PRO-PEKING 'REVOLUTIONARY UNION' SEEKING NEW TALENT

FUNDS AT BOSTON CHURCH * CALIFORNIA LEFTISTS ORGANIZE ANTI-ABM

TY WAS PROBATION VIOLATOR * ALSO, RED THRUST AT THE MILITARY

ENCE LEAK: The Army Intelligence Command has sprung a leak
mmunication, and several daily intelligence summaries have
e Washington area. The Guardian ("independent radical
article with extensive quotes from the Daily Intelli-
, covering the period when leftists attempted to
t Nixon. The summary is compiled at the Army In-
and is sent by teletype to various Army com-
story, prepared by the underground press
rpts from agent and informant reports.
rman in the big Air Force communica-
age exchange between two generals
he Trotskyite-Communist Socialist

EGINS NATIONAL ORGANIZING: THE
D GUARDS, IS SPREADING OUT FROM ITS
ISH ITSELF AS A NATIONAL REVOLUTION-
ECENT WEEKS HAS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE
, AND AGITATION AT THE STANFORD RE-

"if you don't have a gun, get one and learn
We must refuse to be intimidated. We must
esist the ban of rallies and meetings, the
t recommends to students: "A .357 magnum
mm automatic are good handguns; the M-1
er ranges, and a 12 gauge shotgun with
elf-defense at close range."

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(over, please)

If you use the card facing this page to subscribe to **COMBAT** right now, you can get a **FREE** copy of "McCarthy and His Enemies." A book that *every* anti-Communist should own, "McCarthy and His Enemies" was Bill Buckley's second book – and very likely his most controversial. Co-authored by Brent Bozell (Bill's brother-in-law), it was written in 1954, when Joe McCarthy was very much alive and in the thick of the anti-Communist struggle. That is why it remains a unique historical document, unaffected by hindsight or subsequent events. It tells it like it was *then* – what people really thought, who said what to whom, and how it all happened. Many experts consider "McCarthy and His Enemies" the *only* fair book ever written about the *original* Senator McCarthy (the index alone is a goldmine of hard-to-remember people and facts). It has a wealth of background information about Communism in America – then and now – and, if anything, is more valuable (and readable) today than when first published. Take advantage of this offer to get your **FREE** copy of this big (425 pages, fully indexed) book *now*. You get a full year of **COMBAT** for no more than the regular $24 yearly rate, and we will send you a rare copy of "McCarthy and His Enemies" **FREE** and postpaid! (**COMBAT** is the new and exciting newsletter that keeps you informed about the revolutionary struggle in America today.) In addition, if you will enclose payment *now* with your order, we will add an *extra free month* to your **COMBAT** subscription – 13 months in all! Just use the handy card facing this page *today*. You'll be glad you did!

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The Road to Defeat

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

To Lose a Battle: France 1940
By Alistair Horne
Little, Brown, $12.50

In this grimly realistic account of the collapse of the French army before the air-supported armored columns of Hitler's *Wehrmacht* in 1940, Alistair Horne has recaptured the contrasting climates of that year: the pervasive mystique of French invincibility on land and the panic collapse which—except in Britain—followed the dissipation of that mystique.

"Thank God for the French army," cried Winston Churchill in the House of Commons when Hitler seized power in Germany in 1933, and that was still the trustful refrain in London and Paris, in Warsaw and Belgrade, six years later. Unquestioning confidence in the French army had become an article of faith—perhaps because the admission of doubt would have been thinking the unthinkable. This reviewer talked with men of military competence in a number of European capitals during the summer of 1939, just before the German invasion of Poland rang up the curtain on the prologue to blitzkrieg, and found only two well-informed non-Germans who had doubts as to French invincibility which they were willing to put into plain words—Captain Basil Liddell Hart in London, and the American military attaché in Berlin, Colonel Percy Black. To the great majority, it was unbelievable that ex-corporal Hitler could, in only six years, have rebuilt a German army that would be capable of standing up to the French on even terms, much less of defeating them in a single campaign measured in weeks.

"It was *time* that was the vital element which—more than weapons, even more perhaps than morale—France most lacked in 1940," our author shrewdly observes. The speed with which panzer warfare (as developed by Guderian with the air support of close-support Stukas as well as medium-range bombers seeking and finding targets of opportunity, produced a series of successful offensive thrusts against an army), whose basic tactical tenet was that of a continuous defensive front, this allowed no opportunity for delay and second thoughts.

FOR AMERICANS TODAY, Mr. Horne's warning of the vital importance of "the more immutable matters of doctrine and fundamental strategy" is even more worthy of close attention. Decisions about doctrine and fundamental strategy cannot, as the whole of his 1940 narrative makes clear, be safely left either to the military alone or to the politicians alone. It is indispensable that there should be a continuous and mutually confident exchange of views between the responsible civilian leadership and their chief military advisers. France was denied this requirement by political instability, so that even the terribly obvious fact that the whole "continuous front" was ruined by Belgium's return to neutrality in 1936 was not perceived by anyone in authority in time to take remedial action—which at the outset would have to be political in origin and character.

Another point which Mr. Horne emphasizes should be taken to heart by Americans of today's generation. In the gross mismanagement of the British reaction to the German amphibious assault on Norway in April 1940, "Britain failed at just the kind of operation for which both her history and her geography should have best prepared her." That Germany, with an inferior navy, should have been successful in taking over Norway by attack from the sea "was a flagrant defeat for British seapower"—both in substance and in imagery. It was exactly the sort of defeat Britain could not afford at the outset of a war, and it resulted from hesitation and half-measures which bear a painful resemblance to the "strategy of restraint" imposed on United States military commanders by their political masters in the all-important opening phases of the present war in Vietnam.

THE IMPACT ON FRANCE was catastrophic. "In the French army," writes our author, "there was the deepest apprehension; if Hitler could worst Britain in her own element, where the Royal Navy was supposedly supreme, how could the French army stop him on land, where the odds were by no means so favorable?" It need not have happened that way. "The presence or absence of the few British divisions in France was to have little influence on events there, whereas, properly organized, they could undoubtedly have inflicted a signal defeat on Hitler in Norway" and persuaded Hitler and his generals to greater caution in France later in the year. The military value of superior mobility is to gain time, in order to put that time to good use for military purposes. That is why seapower is strategically important. When the traditional custodians of seapower fail to apply it effectively, their military reputation suffers throughout the world.

It is because Alistair Horne has so wide and realistic an understanding of the relationship between politics and strategy that his book is so well worth the attention of thoughtful readers; for this is a relationship which, in its essentials, does not change from year to year or indeed from century to century. □

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Epistle to the Babylonians: An Essay on the Natural Inequality of Man
By Charles L. Fontenay
University of Tennessee, $6.25

EQUALITY, ELITISM AND CIVILIZATION

ARNOLD W. GREEN

"The battle which we once had to fight with the whole battery at our command, with the most fantastic and startling examples that we could muster, is now won." Thus spake Margaret Mead, doyenne of modern anthropology, some thirty years ago. The victory, of course, was environmentalism. And the prize of battle? Biological human nature is so limitlessly plastic that it is helpless to resist environmental conditioning, while the latter clearly outvotes genetic, racial, and even universal sex-role differences. It is a triumph of political ideology.

An ideology remains established because it protects certain interests, perhaps wealth and position or reputation for some, for others notoriety and an irresponsible posture of pure intention. But for a majority, the only interest an established ideology protects is a closed mind. Most people, highly educated ones not excepted, cling to whatever exclusionary and simplistic explanations they have been taught. It is in their interest to do so; only a very few people can bear the thought that the final evidence on complex issues may never be in, and live with the itch to poke holes in accepted dogma.

Thus the furious reaction to the meticulously collected and cautiously interpreted Coleman Report was much more than a defense of the odd notion that Negro and white *average* intelligence *must* be equal, else presumably the KKK will be vindicated. What was and is at stake is a broader implication for the established ideology of environmentalism itself. The tone of the famous Moynihan Report on the Negro family is as frantic as the citation from Mead is smug: "There is absolutely no question of any genetic differential: Intelligence potential is distributed among Negro infants in the same proportion and pattern as among Icelanders or Chinese or any other group. American society, however, impairs the potential." At about the same time, statements of corresponding sweep emanated as credos from two social science bodies in national convention assembled.

The emergence of environmentalism as a dogma of true faith was both cause and effect of two impulses for wholesale change. One was Rousseau's insistence that men are born good, but are made bad by evil social institutions. Any totalitarian-utopian scheme is thus justified which will force men to return to primal virtue. The other is the much more modern insistence upon literal equality —in brains, capability, worth; perhaps not objectively so, but potentially so once environmental shackles are struck off and social conditioning is properly directed. The consequences of this dogma now reverberate in the streets and on our college campuses. By what right is anyone denied anything that any other human being has. By what right does any man hold authority over another? And even more, by what right does any organization—since inevitably some men will direct the activities of other men—exist?

The affinity between environmental explanations of human behavior and egalitarianism has its converse in an affinity between natural explanations —biology, genetics, ethology—and elitism. Any professional or advocate in these latter fields who ventures to make that affinity explicit will usually find that the market for his ideas is less than brisk. This handicap, as in the case of Robert Ardrey, can be compensated by artistry of style and a leisured control of progression in argument. Mr. Fontenay's short book lacks these advantages. The piling up of geology, ethology, genetics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, demography, as well as narrative accounts of the rise and fall of civilizations, will neither attract the general reader nor impress the scholar. But the central argument is clearly enough stated, if not convincingly supported, by the seventeen-page bibliography:

THE ANCIENT HUMAN TYPE, *Homo socialis*, stems from the pre-*sapiens* period, and now as then is imitative, tradition-bound, and a slave to hierarchical

RANDOM NOTES

■ IN THE HEADLINES: Besides Norman Mailer's report on Apollo 11, Little, Brown (owned by Time, Inc.) will publish—as soon as possible after they return —the astronauts' Own Story, as told to somebody. And Time-Life Books plans a lavishly illustrated chronicle, from the first rocketry experiments to Apollo 11, called *To the Moon* (September, $24.50). . . . Mayor Lindsay['s ghostwriter] couldn't meet the deadline for his Campaign Book, *The City*, so Norton has moved publication from May 28 to "shortly after Labor Day." . . . Another LBJ aide has signed a fat book contract: Jack Valenti will do two books for McGraw-Hill. *Fascinating Men* is twelve profiles from Valenti's White House (including LBJ), due next spring; a year later comes a novel about, yes, a young newsman turned Presidential assistant. . . . Coming in the fall are *Mary Martin's Needlepoint* (Morrow, $13.95) and *John F. Kennedy, Scrimshaw Collector* (Little, Brown, $15); a trend?

■ LARKS: *The Ridiculously Expensive MAD* is a great fat anthology, the best of seventeen years' insanity; includes a record, bumper sticker, stencils (World, October, $9.95). . . . Coming from Determined Productions is *The Peanuts Cook Book*, 41 easy-enough-for-kids recipes illustrated with cartoon strips, the likes of Beethoven's Green Beans with Bacon, Security Split-pea Soup, Lucy's Lemon Lollipops. . . . Morgul the Friendly Drelb is listed as Editor of *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In Treasury* (World, September, $5.95).

■ ODDMENTS: *The New Yorker* has published 7,500 poems since 1925, of which nine hundred by three hundred poets reappear in *The New Yorker Book of Poems* (Viking, fall). . . . Robert Graves, *On Poetry* is grumps at Pope, Pound, Eliot, just about everybody; he even rewrites a few (Doubleday, $10). . . . Having done ethics, Ayn Rand tackles aesthetics in *The Romantic Manifesto*, a sheaf of essays reprinted from *The Objectivist* together with her first-and-only short story (World, November, $5).

Sam Moskowitz, the historian of science fiction, has put together *The Man Who Called Himself Poe*—writings about the writer, including several short stories in which he appears as a character (Doubleday, $4.95). . . . Geoffrey Payton retired from the colonial service to compile *Payton's Proper Names*, a tome listing anything that's ever been capitalized and explicating the fine distinctions between, e.g. Billy the Kid, Billy Budd and Billy Liar (Warne, October, $10).

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organization, whether his status is high or low. A great genetic change occurred in the last few millennia and is still taking place. *Homo individualis* emerged with an individualistic ego. Any given human being is a mixture of the two types, of which one predominates. Both sets of psychological characteristics are biologically derived and subject to genetic transmission under Mendelian laws of inheritance.

Civilization did not arise by accident but resulted from a sudden infusion of the *individualis* creative minority, which produced complex organization, high technology and swift change. Through established habit, religious practice and imitation, *socialis* can maintain high civilization for a while, but then he (the mixture formula is not constantly maintained: in some passages Fontenay refers to *individualis* as the "mutant form") creates retrogressive conditions, such as giant cities, a "money economy," rigid hierarchies, and a collectivist ethos which denies *individualis* the right to live for himself and demands that everyone must serve society. Imposed conformity discourages individualism, even the will of libertarians to reproduce. Decadence is swift and the barbarians outside move in.

How is *individualis*, collectively the creative minority, to be recognized? Mainly by high intelligence, although other qualities such as drive, energy and creativity are cited. The gratuitous assumption is made that high intelligence and libertarian philosophy are correlated. A further weakness of the argument is a confusion of biological-psychological with social and even occupational types. Artists, poets, peasants who are freeholders, inventors, novelists, religious leaders, and the barbarians who smash decadent civilizations are all either *individualis* mutants or predominantly *individualis*.

FONTENAY'S ELITISM is unique in that those who are at or rise to the top are assigned mass status along with underlings. Thus *socialis* in the modern world includes Chambers of Commerce, the bourgeoisie, administrators and traders ("nonproductive elements of the population"), as well as organized labor and the Negro minority—all those, in short, who "want to plunder past production benefits," including those who exploit "the military-industrial complex."

Fontenay's frame of reference is both too broad, and loose. A reasonable case for elitism can be made with genetic-family studies. And holding strictly to sociological variables, Professor Richard T. LaPiere has shown that the advances

of civilization are the work of a small minority. But LaPiere does not place that minority on the outside or, at best, in the interstices of social life. Nor would he argue, as does Fontenay, that high intelligence by itself confers moral sense, so that only *socialis* requires a degree of social control. Berkeley, Columbia, Harvard?

The parts of this book are superior to the whole. Limitations of space do not permit a discussion of the many sapient observations made about the collectivist drift in modern America and the probable consequences. But not only is the *Zeitgeist* solidly against Fontenay's main thesis; the prejudices expressed are so idiosyncratic it seems unlikely that any intellectual minority will espouse them.

It is still a better book than any of Margaret Mead's work, which has become virtually Holy Writ for several generations of college youngsters. Only cultural environment determines temperamental attitudes, see, and they are not sex-linked. So it turns out that Tchambuli women are dominant over their men, who are charming, graceful, coquettish and subservient. Of course, they *do* occasionally beat their wives, they conduct trade, constantly quarrel among themselves and, as a matter of fact, they hunted heads before the British interfered with this amiable pastime. Nowhere in *Epistle to the Babylonians* can one find nonsense so arrogant and nonsequiturs so magnificent. □

The Arab-Israeli Impasse
Edited by Majdia D. Khadduri
Robert B. Luce, $4.95

Dialogue with Ishmael
By Audrey Hodes
Funk & Wagnalls, $5.95

The Israel-Arab Reader
Edited by Walter Laqueur
Bantam, $1.25

The Search for Peace in the Middle East
By Samuel Merlin
Yoseloff, $8.50

MIDDLE EAST ROUNDUP

MAX GELTMAN

No one likes to be called an extremist. Even "extremism in pursuit of justice" is intolerable. But to be identified as a moderate, in an area where moderation is regarded by both sides in a bitter conflict as posturing, makes one appear singularly immodest.

In the first of the books under discussion, the editor has rounded up what she considers to be representative "expressions of moderate viewpoints on the Arab-Israeli conflict by well-known Western writers." One may well ask: moderate on whose side? Just as one might ask of those "neutrals" in the cold war: neutral on whose side? Most of the contributions to this volume are frankly weighted in favor of the Arab side, intentionally so, perhaps, because the editor is convinced that it is this side of the "impasse" that has been woefully neglected. Nevertheless, a fair balance is struck in the contribution by Charles W. Yost, now U.S. Ambassador to the UN. His analysis of the June War serves as a needed corrective to an unfortunately biased piece by Professor Willard G. Oxtoby of Yale who asserts, among a host of other unproved assertions, that "Israel had inadequate provocation for launching its preventive attack in June." For most objective observers the strategic attack was launched by Egypt; Nasser's ultimatum to withdraw the UN peacekeeping forces, the blockading of the Strait of Tiran, the movement of troops in the Sinai, the ranting and threats heard over the Cairo radio were provocation enough. →

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The piece by Dan Cordtz of *Fortune* Magazine may prove of some historical importance, since it was from Mr. Cordtz that former Governor William Scranton got his headlines when he brought back from his fact-finding mission abroad the notion of an "even-handed approach" to Middle East policy. The phrase belongs to *Fortune*—and to time.

FOR a more rounded understanding of the "impasse," I wholeheartedly recommend Walter Laqueur's book, an easy-to-carry paperback, which contains all the pertinent data, from the Balfour Declaration to the latest threats of the fedayeen—all the UN resolutions, white papers, commission reports and documentation relative to the subject of Arab-Israeli relations. Best of all is an exchange between the universal historian Arnold Toynbee (pro-Arab) and Professor J. L. Talmon of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, author of that modern classic, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*.

Most of the contributors to these two collections insist that only a durable peace in the Middle East can prevent a major Soviet-American confrontation. Mr. Hodes, born in South Africa and now an Israeli citizen, comes at the problem from a different angle. He belongs to a group in Israel that sees its future developing best as a Middle East state in a Mideast environment, with the Levantine aspect accented rather than the *Yiddishkeit*, especially as that derives from East European Jewry. They want Israel to align herself with the non-aligned nations of the "third world." The author cries peace, peace, peace, as if by sheer repetition of the word some magic would accrue to it and men would know war no more. He cites the Prophets and Psalms for evidence. Meanwhile Israel dickers for more Phantom jets, the refugees multiply, the terror increases, and there is no peace.

OUR LAST AUTHOR enters upon the scene with a *tour de force* of a book, *The Search for Peace in the Middle East*, subtitled "The Challenge of President Bourguiba." He zeroes in on a two-month journey the Tunisian President made in early 1965, which took him to all the capitals of the Middle East. At the beginning of his hegira, Bourguiba was treated as the conquering hero of Arab nationalism, who had wrested his country from the French, but at the end of the trip he was hooted by the same crowds as a "traitor," with cries of "Death to Bourguiba" ringing in his ears. The reason for this about-face, and the failure of both Arab and Israeli statesmanship to grasp the significance of this journey, are the substance of this exciting and carefully documented work. Says the author: "Bourguiba challenged two of the most deeply and widely inculcated tenets in popular Arab opinion: a) that under no circumstances should one accept the existence of a sovereign state of Israel or enter direct negotiations with it, and b) there is ultimately no other solution to the Palestine problem except war." More, he did this in the very heartlands of Arab nationalism, in Cairo, in Damascus and in Old Jerusalem. Bourguiba warned that constant agitation, inflammatory speeches and terroristic forays into Israeli territory would only lead to counterattacks by a much better trained foe. And, most striking of all, he cautioned against unleashing a "third round" in a war that could only bring defeat to Arab arms, even if such arms bore the insignia "Made in the USSR."

MR. MERLIN, a former member of the Israeli Knesset and now head of the prestigious Institute for Mediterranean Affairs, is critical of both the Arab states and Israel. The burden of his criticism is directed against Israeli leadership for not grasping the outstretched hand of Bourguiba, a respected Arab leader and also president of a Western-oriented Arab state. He is convinced that had Israel seized the moment when it presented itself in 1965, it could have taken the initiative, especially with regard to the Palestinian refugees, who have a direct interest in the dispute. The author drives home this point of view with relentless logic —but is logic the most effective tool to bring to bear on an almost lunatic situation?

Insisting that only Israel and the displaced Arabs can solve the problem ultimately affecting themselves, Mr. Merlin is convinced that peace may not be as far off as some overheated "experts" like to think it is. Here he may be a bit sanguine, what with the sudden emergence of Yasir Arafat as leader of all the Palestine "liberation" forces. Arafat declared from his headquarters in Cairo: "Let the big powers decide what they wish, the Palestinians have made their decision, and that decision springs from the gun." The frightening thing is not the borrowed Maoism nor even the Red Chinese guns which he bragged he had at his disposal, but that President Nasser hailed his speech and offered him "unlimited moral and material support, without reservations or conditions." At the same time Nasser told a *Newsweek* editor he is prepared to sit down and discuss an Israeli settlement of some sort—even if not quite a peace agreement. The situation is lunatic; it is dangerous; it is the Middle East.

Perhaps, as Mr. Laqueur suggests, the best way to reduce the volatility of the area is to stop paying too much attention to it. After all, the Israelis are quite capable of taking care of themselves—and the Russians, for all their bluster and bluff, are not likely to risk a major confrontation at this point. □

ART

HOW MODERN THE MODERN MUSEUM?

RUTH BERENSON

This year marks the fortieth birthday of New York's Museum of Modern Art. Just as a beautiful woman on the threshold of her forties views the future with, to put it gently, misgivings, so MOMA (as it is acronymically, and sometimes acidly, known) is approaching its coming anniversary with mixed feelings: pride in its past accomplishments, coupled with anxiety and doubt as to its future function. Basically, its troubles are defined by its name. How can a forty-year-old, i.e., middle-aged, institution stay "modern" forever?

Of course, time itself has taken its toll. For one thing, the pioneers who started the museum and set forth its guidelines are all either leaving or have left. Alfred H. Barr Jr., founder and long-time Director of Collections, retired two years ago; René d'Harnoncourt, the Director, was tragically killed in a car accident last year just before his retirement was due; and this year Dorothy Miller, discoverer of a host of now famous painters and sculptors, will

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also leave—the last of the Old Guard.

It is hard to replace such people; to date, indeed, it has proved impossible. Bates Lowry, the former Brown University art historian who was handpicked to succeed Mr. d'Harnoncourt as Director before the latter's death, has just suddenly resigned—or been ousted—after less than a year at his post. Rumors are rife that he was the victim of "intrigue," that he didn't get along with the trustees and the staff, that he was contemptuous of budgets. With sixteen curatorial departments staffed by some 150 people, with an exhibition program, national and international in scope, which must be planned years in advance, with a budget deficit of over $500,000, directing this mammoth enterprise may well be, as one observer noted, "an impossible job." Of all the explanations given for Mr. Lowry's sudden departure, this probably comes nearest the truth.

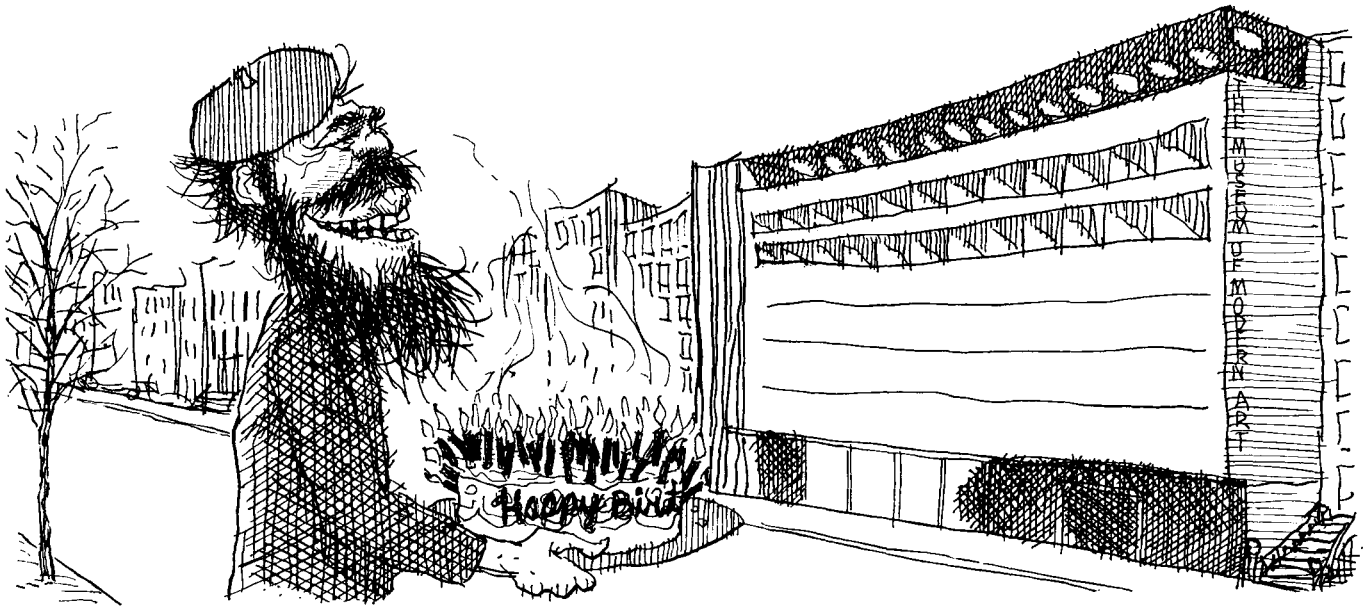
THE LEADERSHIP CRISIS comes at a moment when MOMA is under fire from a variety of sources. This is nothing new; over the years, it has encountered its share of brickbats, especially from those who, for one reason or another, disapproved of its selection policies. It is true that in years past, when art dealers tended to be wary of sponsoring new artists, a hitherto unknown painter or sculptor whose work was displayed in the Museum of Modern Art had received an equivalent of the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval and instant eminence—to the understandable bitterness of his less fortunate confreres.

During the 1950s MOMA was attacked, with some justification in this writer's view, for giving its accolade to the Abstract Expressionists at the expense of other, more traditional artists and styles; its recent espousal of Minimalism—plain canvases enlivened by a single stripe, chevron or curve—and its alleged neglect of "Pop" and "Multimedia" artists have been similarly condemned. A few weeks ago the Art Workers Coalition, a New Leftish amalgam of artists, writers, filmmakers and critics, zeroed in on MOMA as epitomizing the "art establishment," denouncing it as "fascistic" and accusing it of a wide variety of sins: neglecting multimedia, underground films, black and Puerto Rican artists (for whom a special gallery was demanded), and calling on it to stay open evenings, abolish admission fees (MOMA receives no government support), to establish community branches and to help "liberate" art and artists from the clutches of the "commercial establishment."

But it is not only the art world, underground and Madison Avenue, which is dissatisfied with MOMA these days. The fact is that attendance figures have dropped off during the last couple of years, an ominous development in a field where, as Russell Lynes put it, success is measured by "the magic of the door-count." It is not that the public is less intrigued by modern art; it's that there are so many other places where one can see it. MOMA is no longer alone in the field; it faces stiff competition not just from other museums in New York and elsewhere, but from commercial galleries whose pursuit of new trends and artists is indefatigable.

IF, IN THE EARLY YEARS, MOMA owed its reputation to its crusading zeal for the modern art cause, today its eminence rests on the breadth and quality of its permanent collection. But again, the collection poses problems due to the Museum's name. Obviously, what was "modern" in 1929 or even 1949 is something else—old-fashioned? antique? historical?—in 1969. In the statement which Mr. Barr wrote when the Museum first opened, he tried to anticipate this dilemma by saying that in addition to establishing a collection of "the most important living masters," it would also collect "the immediate ancestors of the modern movement." Inevitably, the passing of time makes even "ancestors" less and less "immediate."

As long ago as 1947, the trustees (recalling how France's Luxembourg Museum serves as a kind of testing ground for the Louvre by passing on to the latter contemporary works which have aged well enough to be accorded "Old Master" status) announced that MOMA's so-called "classical works" would be sold to the Metropolitan Museum which, like the Louvre, was dedicated exclusively to the art of the past. Twenty-six works were thus transferred. By 1953, however, the Metropolitan had itself started buying contemporary art in direct competition with MOMA —which thereupon abandoned the whole idea. Yet the incongruity of a permanent collection of forever-modern art remains. →



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That MOMA is becoming more historically-minded is undoubtedly true. Except for this winter's "Art of the Machine" [*NR*, April 22], all its recent shows of painting and sculpture have been devoted to long-established names and styles. Not since 1963 has a group of "new discoveries" been shown. Last year's opening of the International Study Center in the adjoining building formerly occupied by the Whitney Museum seems to confirm the trend; instead of using the additional space to build new galleries where, for instance, electronic and other multimedia projects could be adequately mounted, the Center contains study facilities to attract scholars in the twentieth-century field. True, plans are afoot for another new wing, or perhaps a new skyscraper, which presumably will remedy this situation. Nevertheless, the very size and complexity of the Museum of Modern Art today probably precludes the easy adaptability and openness to new artistic breezes which characterized it in former times.

MOMA's PROBLEMS on the threshold of middle age should not come as a surprise. Just as inevitably, its many followers and imitators—the Guggenheim and Jewish Museums in New York, the exciting new art centers in Houston, Los Angeles, Atlanta and elsewhere—all will shortly face similar situations. Perhaps the basic trouble is that the art of our time has itself become middle-aged. Like MOMA and the other institutions devoted to modern art, it has lost its ability to shock, and even its newest permutations have a kind of *déjà vu* predictability about them. If this is the case, then the Museum of Modern Art still, despite everything, lives up to its name; it is "modern art" itself which is no longer modern. □

RECORDS

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(Columbia Stereo MS 7222)

MUSICA EX MACHINA

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

Nancarrow's achievement is to rediscover the player piano and to grasp, all of a sudden, that you write especially for it. Now there, I assure you, is a discovery that has to be heard to be believed. The player piano was designed to operate on signals punched (like IBM cards) into a roll of paper. The roll unwinds across a sensitive rod that "reads" the signals and sends absolutely accurate instructions to the keys of the piano, which promptly and infallibly plink plink plink the score.

Then the flash of genius. If the player piano reproduces a regular old-fashioned oompah music with deadly accuracy—well, why won't it perform just as brilliantly if you feed it a score whose complexities would baffle a mere human pianist? So Nancarrow has been plotting out on paper player piano rolls a series of "studies" that cannot be performed on anything but a player piano. No human performer could reproduce a rhythmic sequence whose intervals are related as one to the square root of two—but the old nickelodeon, properly programmed, dashes through polyrhythmic patterns a hundred times more complicated and makes it all sound great.

THERE IS, FOR EXAMPLE, the magnificent Study #21, which is given the simple subtitle "X." The chiasma exists: the treble voice begins at a blinding speed in a wildly ricocheting figuration and ever so slowly—ever so mathematically deceleratingly—arrives at its stately, solemn conclusion. Meanwhile the lower voice in this two-part invention (two parts! how's that for basic music?) commences its role as a plangent bonging funereal counterpoint to the madcap coloration above and slowly—with perfect musical calculus—speeds up and whirls around itself until at the end it has conquered the ear with a total, agonizing, preponderation of sound. Somewhere in the middle, for a theoretical, abstract, vanishing fraction of a minor interval of time, the two voices are almost synchronized, but the impression is fleeting and asymptotic, and the ear is teased and flouted because it cannot live up to the mind's conceptions.

To describe such a work is to caricature it. Invariably, when I have played this recording for my friends, it has produced in them the reactions of amusement and joy. Through this most mechanical of musical contrivances, one man has transmitted to his unknown and distant audience a sense of his own delight in the sound of order and the ordering of sound. What is music if not the sharing of an audible delight?

Indeed, just as it is the proud work of poetry to make us rethink our language, so the best music must make us ever question the locus and substance and direction of music itself. Nancarrow's work possesses the irresistible power to force the hearer to reflect on the nature of his musical pleasures and to consider, as if for the first time, what we mean when we say that music is a human and not a mechanical art. For if it is true that the performing machine, digesting instructions that are unintelligible to mere men, can do what ten fingers will never do, then what is the nature of our delight in hearing a fine (though human) instrumentalist?

Then again the flash (and did Nan-

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carrow program it for us?): if there are some rhythmic tricks a machine can pull and a man can't, there are also some things a man can do that a machine can never be programmed for. Take rubato. In the best rubato playing, the music departs from strict time and returns to it at the end of the phrase or passage—but it returns on the beat. The ear feels satisfied, often unconsciously, with these goings and comings from rhythmic home base. And no two musicians will do it the same. The rubato sense springs from the most intimate reflexes. The trained ear knows a performer by his rubato just as a bank teller knows him by his signature. I suppose it might be measured, reduced to paper, and whooshed through the innards of a player piano—but then you'd have one man's rubato, once. That man might play the same passage differently the next time. And he might be right both times.

WHAT PLEASES US in the "live" performance is the spontaneous activity of a cultivated human individual. We are able to get "with" him, out of our skins, above ourselves for a moment. Thus the exaltation that the greatest performers always made their audience feel. But the important variable is the individual, and the deep lesson of such music as Nancarrow's, on such instruments as his prepared keyboard automatons, is that the individual is the whole and indefeasible center of this art. The tragedy of art under tyranny is that it must bend its neck to the machinery of the state. Where men are free, their art never ceases to dwell on the glorious limitations of all machines. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE AFRICAN PREDICAMENT, *by Stanislav Andreski (Atherton, $6.95).* Professor Andreski of the University of Reading in England is a sociologist who writes lucid English and has something to say. He observes that "man's inhumanity to man" operates even when the men in question have black skins, and most especially when they are not relatives. With steady eye and hand he dissects the woes of the impoverished African states with "near-horrible precision" (to borrow a Buckley phrase). Africa's birthrate is second only to that of Latin America and still on the increase, outstripping economic growth. In consequence, as in Latin America, corruption, exploitation, parasitism and strife beset the new states. The mushrooming urban jungles suffer additionally from ethnic division and the breakdown of the traditional moral structures. Nothing escapes Andreski's probe. A small sampling: The Peace Corps and similar bodies: ". . . the mere food for an overseas volunteer costs many times more than the normal wage of a native laborer." Education as a panacea: "Overproduction of graduates is the surest means so far discovered for conjuring up subversive movements." Salvation, concludes Andreski, can only come from within. "What Africa needs most is the human capital of millions of knowledgeable, hard-working and enterprising small businessmen. . . ." He sees the Ivory Coast, with a 10 per cent growth rate, as the closest approximation today, and attributes its relative success to the sober realism of its French-trained president, Houphouët-Boigny. "The spectacle of the Ivory Coast should gladden the hearts of conservatives throughout the world, as it underlines the merits of gradualness and of building on traditional foundations . . . the Ivorian regime rests upon an alliance between the new bureaucratic elite, the traditional chiefs and the French government and big business." E. B. MEYER

LOUD AND CLEAR: *The Full Answer to Aviation's Vital Question: Are the Jets Really Safe? by Robert J. Serling (Doubleday, $5.95).* In the age of Ralph Nader, one tends to suspect the motives of any person claiming to probe an area important to consumers. But drawing upon years of experience as UPI aviation editor and losing perspective only when taking swipes at general aviation, Serling presents a compelling look at jet-age safety: "The art of reducing risk to the least possible chance of occurrence." One learns, for instance, that airlines and their crews suggest about as many safety-oriented aircraft design changes as the FAA itself. Serling has the highest praise for pilot training, but notes that badly needed emergency training for stewardesses has come only in the last four to six years. After reading his detailed descriptions of emergency evacuation, no air traveler will again fail to read the seat pocket information card. This is particularly important because Serling points out that both the airlines and the FAA have been laggard in solving the problem of fire on impact. Serling adds that the other dreaded, much-discussed problem, crowded skies, relates mostly to the ten airports from which 50 per cent of all air travelers take off—and that only at peak hours or in bad weather. He has no patience for those aviation critics, especially in Congress, who demand stupid "reforms" the morning after accidents—particularly when the airlines and the FAA have come a long way and are on the verge of greater strides. D. B. DUVAL

LETTERS

(cont. from p. 625)

tional and recreational aspects of sex are willfully separated, there arises a tendency to regard the transmission of life as a nuisance and the generative process as a mechanism ordained primarily for our unrestricted pleasure.

Those who do not agree that contraception is immoral tend to slide into the conclusion that we who propose the restriction of contraceptive distribution do so merely because we believe it immoral. On the contrary, sufficient reason for restricting the distribution of contraceptives can be found in the adverse social consequences of easy contraception, which obviously facilitates promiscuity and irresponsibility. The "contraceptive society," whether in Sweden today or in the United States ten years hence, is not a society conducive to family stability, personal responsibility, or respect for life and its origins.

New York, N.Y. CHARLES E. RICE

Forman as Theologian

In regard to "Blessed Be the Militants" [*NR*, May 20], the only "sound theological underpinnings" Mr. Forman and his associates represent could be found in any police station. Church reparation by any other name is still extortion. Christ stood under Roman oppression perhaps only to fall at Riverside.

New Lenox, Ill. JAMES HARDER

Drugs and Children

Like many others in our "Freedom for All" age, Mark C. Coleman [*NR*, June 3] is unable to make the distinction between adults and children. Drug use could probably be left to "the educated discretion of the individual," but such a change would hopefully not include thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds. Although I know a number of intelligent people in this age bracket, I know of no one who, at fourteen, has had the necessary experience and education to make a decision of such magnitude as whether or not to take drugs.

South Plainfield, N.J. CHRISTOPHER LOBB

Macduff Lays On

Of all the delightful verses of Mr. W. H. von Dreele, none have I liked quite so much as his "Pusey's Soliloquy" [*NR*, May 20].

But von Dreele's "MacDuff" was really Macduff. With a small *d*.

The descendent members of this unpusillanimous, quite unPuseylike clan spell it so to this day. A seemingly small matter, but wars have been fought over less.

I know about these things. My mother was a Macduff.

Yours in the hope of much more von Dreele (but with the suggestion that he read his Shakespeare with a sharper eye).

Carp Lake, Mich. DOUGLAS VAN PATTEN

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SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM

[SIDNEY] HOOK

THE [Real] CRISIS

ON THE CAMPUS:

Mayor John V. Lindsay has denounced student violence in the high schools and has vowed that he would prevent it. . . . The same Mayor Lindsay . . . in a speech . . . two years ago hailed the "Berkeley rebels" . . . as providing a pattern for the rest of the students in the country to emulate. They have.

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TONSOR

(cont. from p. 638)

by diversifying orthodoxies. That is the student's solution. He wishes to replace the liberal orthodoxy with a New Left orthodoxy, a WASP orthodoxy with a black orthodoxy, a permissive and tolerant orthodoxy with a repressive orthodoxy. What the student wishes is a substitution of orthodoxies rather than an end to all closed systems. His efforts will only compound the problem, for the liberal ascendancy in today's colleges and universities is like the pre-1918 Austrian Empire—"an autocracy ameliorated by inefficiency"—while the student Maoist dictatorships would end altogether the life of reason.

The professor, if he is to re-establish the authority of reason must not only admit of the possibility of his being wrong but must have the openness of mind necessary to, as Lord Acton said, "make out the best possible case for error." He must actively court diversity and contradiction rather than seek a world of like-minded men. He must continuously engage in a great debate not only with his students and his colleagues but above all with himself, and as President Truman said: "If he can't stand the heat, he should get out of the kitchen."

The ideological and cultural uniformity of higher education in America is a disgrace. Why is it that our colleges and universities have conformed themselves over the past two decades to the orthodoxy of secular liberalism? Why has the atmosphere been so increasingly hostile to open debate? Why does it take the crisis of the exclusion of the Negro from the university to make us see that not only people, but ideas have been excluded by higher education?

The authority and the relevance of the university lie in its ability as an institution to explore systematically and rationally the problems men face. Its success is not dependent upon current fashions in ideas or current solutions to particular problems. Its success derives from its ability to take the long view and ask the hard questions, and the hardest of these is the question the professor asks of himself, of his colleagues and of his society, about the possibility of being wrong. □

UTLEY

(cont. from p. 645)

two hundred-mile coastal limit it claims together with Ecuador and Chile, exacting economic revenge is not to our own long-range advantage and would only backfire against us. Now Peru has asked the U.S. to withdraw its military missions but it did so only after it was publicized that we were refusing to sell it arms because of restrictions in another congressional amendment.

I lived in Havana during and after the Castro takeover and certainly the great majority of revolutionaries were not Communists. However, the Communists were organized, knew what they wanted and worked unceasingly to cause a rupture with the United States.

In Peru there are Communist elements in the government which would like nothing better than to provoke a real break with the U.S. Application of the Hickenlooper sanctions would be just what they need further to inflame the situation. On the other hand our patience and forbearance in the IPC case would lend support to the moderate elements in the Peruvian government. There is enormous public sentiment in favor of Peru throughout Latin America in this dispute as Governor Rockefeller discovered on his fact-finding tour. Communist elements are using our threat of sanctions over the IPC case as a rallying point for anti-American demonstrations. Application of the Amendment would only force Peru to embark upon a more extremist course of action which would seriously prejudice our future interests in all of Latin America.

Congress has made its point. Shouldn't the Hickenlooper Amendment now be modified lest its original good intentions cause terrible consequences? □

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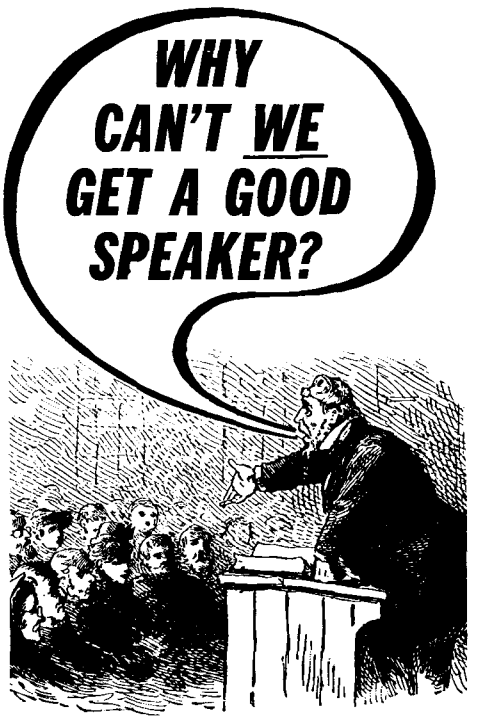

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

On Tormenting Fulbright

On The Right

New York, June 16—Richard Nixon's big speech of a fortnight ago was very possibly the best he has ever delivered, which is why the critics of it are so anguished. Most wounded of all, as one would expect, was Senator William Fulbright, who cannot bear to be confronted with the consequences of his policies, which is the best that can be said about Senator Fulbright. He always acts as though he would be horrified if what happened as the result of following Fulbright policies, happened—he is as much opposed to the communization of Southeast Asia as Neville Chamberlain was opposed to the nazification of Western Europe, and he cannot stand it when someone interrupts his reveries to say crisply, *Who says A must say B.* That, essentially, is what Nixon said. I cannot think how he could have wounded Senator Fulbright more deeply, short only of going to Little Rock and declaring that Senator Fulbright was a friend of civil rights.

Senator Fulbright asserted that President Nixon's speech was "a form of demagoguery that was very fashionable in the time of his old colleague, Joe McCarthy." Now, apart from the disreputable invocation, just what was demagogic about what President Nixon said? What he said was that there are those in America who are in fact neo-isolationists.

Why is that a form of demagoguery? To begin with, it happens to be exactly true. And there is a sense in which their position is highly respectable. It is not very different from a position towards which Herbert Hoover, who was always an internationalist in the best sense, found himself nearly driven fifteen years ago, when he asked that we consider a Fortress America approach if the nations of the world were unwilling to make effective alliances.

BUT IN TERMS of political chic, never mind Hoover. It was Walter Lippmann who two years or so ago announced, in the course of renouncing the Vietnam war, what his position was, and he encouraged those who wished to classify it as neo-isolationist. It comes down to this: either the United States uses its resources to help other countries resist communization, or else it does not.

Both positions are defensible, but neither position is defensible if one removes from the consideration of it the unpleasant consequences of taking it. It is irresponsible for anyone who believes in the Vietnam war to suggest other than that it is a war which is hideous in its cost in life and treasure. It is irresponsible for anyone who believes in pulling out of Vietnam to suggest that the consequences of pulling out are other than what they are, to wit the probable communization of the disputed area. Neville Chamberlain at least had the excuse that England was not militarily prepared to fight for Czechoslovakian independence.

Senator Fulbright went on (alas) to say that he thought it "essentially an un-American approach to attempt to stifle discussion of legitimate problems." Students of rhetoric will catch the *basso sostenuto*—you start with Joe McCarthy, and you come back hard with "un-American."

But of course Senator Fulbright is saying two things. In the first place, surely anybody who has criticized as sharply as he has the entrenched institutional policies of the American government, would not reject an idea merely because it is un-American? Why, presumably he would welcome it? On the other hand, if he is fetched by the McCarthy analogy, what is he suggesting? That President Nixon be reported to the Committee on Internal Security?

Ah, the uses of rhetoric! Actually, of course, Mr. Nixon did not by word, thought or deed stifle discussion, unless it is said to be stifling of discussion to draw out the consequences of advocating a particular view. If the consequences of let us say antisemitism are Buchenwald, and one points this out, one might very well have the effect of stifling antisemitism, but that isn't bad, is it?

Mr. Nixon asks no more—why should he?—than that the neo-isolationists and the unilateral disarmers reflect on the consequences or the likely consequences or at least the dangers of their policies. One grants that it is a form of cruel and unusual punishmen to ask Senator Fulbright to do this. Bu such cruelty is not, in one man's humble opinion, un-American. □

THE STUDENT RIOT BILL

New York, June 18—At the urging of Mrs. Edith Green of Oregon, the House of Representatives is considering a measure designed to punish colleges and universities which do not administer a satisfactory code of conduct, and students and professors who do not behave. As one would expect, the nation's liberals are so horrified they can barely speak. Tom Wicker of the *Times* may never recover.

Regarding the bill, a few observations:

1) The concern over interference by the Federal Government with the local administration of the schools and colleges comes in strangely from the tongues of those who have been all too willing and eager to use the clout of the Federal Government against any school which is held guilty of practicing segregation. The critics of the bill point out that it would penalize whole colleges, along with innocent students, in an attempt to reach the guilty few, and indeed the bill specifies that any college which fails to come up with and enforce a satisfactory code of conduct will be disqualified from receiving funds.

THE DOCTRINE OF CORPORATE responsibility is one to watch, but it is interesting how swivelhipped our ideologues are on the subject. Not only are they perfectly prepared to permit innocent students in the South to suffer from a shrinkage of funds because their parents engage in segregation practices, a number of them not long ago took a position altogether different from their current position. When the National Defense Education Act was originally passed, it stipulated that colleges must administer a loyalty oath of sorts to all students who applied for federal funds under that program. After a year or two, the presidents of Yale and Harvard signed a manifesto of righteousness

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declaring that they would thenceforward refuse to administer the oath, believing it to be a spiritual imposition on the consciences of young people. The effect was to deprive innocent students of access to federal funds—no oathee, no money. In short order, Congress eliminated the oath. But in the interim, educators followed the lead of Harvard and Yale, taking corporate positions against the oath at the expense of many of their students. Now they weep that some of their students would be hurt by the corporate exclusions envisaged under Mrs. Green's bill.

2) The purpose of corporate responsibility is to effect changes desired by the lawmakers. Thus, the lawmakers desire that there shall not be segregation in the schools in the South, so they threaten to withdraw funds and, most probably, will achieve what they desire, and never mind the local constituency and what it desires.

There are laws in every state which insist that, let us say, a nursing home, or a hospital, will not qualify for state aid unless it meets certain standards of hygiene. Those nursing homes or hospitals that fail to qualify, fail to render certain services to individuals who would have profited from them. But the effect is mostly clear: the institutions adjust themselves so as to meet the higher standards.

3) Notwithstanding that there are precedents, and notwithstanding the hypocrisy of the concern of many of the critics of the bill, in fact it should not be passed, because it is unenforceable, and might in fact aggravate a bad situation. College administrators every day need to decide whether to turn over a student or students to the local prosecutor. As it now stands they are reluctant to do so if only because the students might be sentenced to a week or ten days in jail. Imagine their reluctance if in addition to the jail sentence, the students were deprived of federal scholarships for the five-year period specified by the bill. Like the death penalty, the bill would probably diminish, rather than increase, the number of convictions.

AND AS FOR COMING UP with a satisfactory code of conduct, said code is easy enough to devise. The question is how best to enforce it. We are aware in some detail of the case histories of Berkeley, Brandeis, Cornell, Harvard and Columbia. It is not only possible to criticize the administrators of those colleges, it is very nearly impossible not to criticize them. Still, they sought, each in his way, to deal with the crisis.

It is impossible to write into a bill a formula which would take into satisfactory account such variables as in each situation would be introduced at any court action by colleges seeking to void the consequences of Mrs. Green's quite understandable wrath. So that we are better off junking the bill, even as we remember—those of us who remember—the reiterated warnings of yesterday's conservatives, that federal money would mean federal control. □

COMMENCEMENT DILEMMA *New York*, June 20—It was a dramatic scene, helped out by wind squalls that rattled the canvas that stretched over the dignitaries who sat, the archbishop on his throne at the center, facing the bleachers at Roosevelt Stadium to witness the commencement ceremonies and to confer a half thousand degrees on the graduating class. There had been preliminaries. During the *Star Spangled Banner* a half dozen students and spectators raised their clenched fists, a general symbol of undifferentiated defiance made popular by black athletes at Mexico City during the Olympics last fall.

Then the valedictorian came to speak, a grim and intelligent young man, whose words were indistinctly heard because the wind and the canvas were now flogging and whipping like a badly trimmed sail. But the idea was plain, and about one-fifth of the students were rapturous: the college was no good, America is no good, and things had to change NOW! Boos from the majority, lusty applause from the minority. Then thirty or forty students walked ecstatically out of the stadium, intending to register that for them, the commencement was over.

But the climax was to come. The class prizes were distributed. The president of the college called out the recipient who came, received the award, and accepted the congratulations of the archbishop, shaking his hand or kissing his ring. One girl, taking the prize, walked directly to the old archbishop, turned her back on him, and raised her hand in the salute of defiance. No umpire was ever booed more vociferously at Roosevelt Stadium, and the applause was a little tentative. Had she overdone it?

As we sat there, Nelson Rockefeller was speaking at Dartmouth College, explaining the plight of the cities, and receiving yet another honorary degree. Forty students stood throughout the duration of his speech, their backs turned on him. Why? Because he is a member of the Establishment. At Harvard, moments before the commencement exercises, the SDS approached President Pusey and informed him that unless one of their number was permitted to speak, they would disrupt the entire proceedings. Capitulating, President Pusey granted the speaker ten minutes. He took eighteen. At Brown University, three-quarters of the senior class stood and turned their backs on Professor Henry Kissinger. Why? Because he serves President Nixon as a principal adviser and has not, manifestly, prevailed upon the President to do in Vietnam what the majority of Brown seniors would do in Vietnam if only they were President.

Sir Harold Nicholson wrote in one of his books that he suspected that the persecution of the early Christians came about less because the Romans found the Christians' dogmas offensive, than because they found their manners intolerable. It is the manners of the current dissenters, more even than their deeds, which arouse true, deep, even savage antagonisms. At Roosevelt Stadium, as a part of the ceremony, several dozen seniors received their commissions in the Army after four years in the ROTC. A perfectly normal ceremony, and the young men were entitled to the polite applause of the crowd. But what they got came closer to adulation. The near-hysterical applause was in direct reaction to the provocation of the dissenters.

THE REASON why is obvious. One protester, heckling the principal speaker, was seized by the cops and dragged out —so much for that. But what does one do about the man who burns the flag, the girl who violates sacerdotal proprieties, the band of students who turn their backs on someone who is called on the scene to be honored? Where reason does not obtain, power will, and this is the ugly truth the growing consciousness of which is haunting more and more people. You cannot have ceremony without a certain decorum, and you cannot have a workable society without ceremony. The choice society is being handed is to abandon ceremony, or to repress demonstrators. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (below) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in below, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 660 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram

			1 C	2 G	3 L		4 N	5 D	6 T	7 C	8 V		9 C	10 Y	11 W	12 F	13 X	14 G	15 I
	16 K	17 Y	18 O	19 Q		20 E	21 J	22 G	23 M	24 F	25 O	26 C	27 S	28 Y	29 U	30 H		31 U	32 W
33 X	34 C	35 Y	36 O	37 D	38 A	39 M		40 S	41 D	42 V	43 W	44 A		45 G	46 H	47 T		48 F	
49 C	50 X	51 J	52 B		53 L	54 M	55 Z	56 Y		57 G	58 Y	59 H		60 E	61 I		62 M		63 P
64 Z	65 R	66 Y		67 S	68 V	69 N	70 C		71 O	72 C		73 F	74 K		75 O	76 J	77 D	78 P	79 T
80 A		81 P	82 B	83 D	84 C	85 V	86 F		87 W	88 I	89 O	90 D		91 Q	92 I	93 C	94 R		95 C
96 K	97 R		98 N	99 Q	100H	101J	102L		103S	104V	105M	106N	107Z	108A		109G	110D	111F	112C
	113U	114M	115D	116Z	117E	118T	119K	120C		121D	122J	123R	124H	125Y	126L	127U	128S	129Q	
130S	131V	132Z		133B	134E	135H	136U		137F	138B	139E	140I	141N	142K	143Y	144L	145Q	146W	
147J	148M	149S	150H		151J	152Q	153S		154F	155B	156X	157K	158J	159N	160A	161S	162R		163V
164T	165C	166D	167H	168Q	169E	170J		171E	172A	173C	174G	175N	176L	177T		178P	179D	180Q	181G
182Z		183J	184F	185M		186Y	187C	188P	189X		190K	191X		192A	193E	194Y		195C	196R
197Y	198F	199G		200N	201W	202P	203B	204X		205X	206M	207B	208F	209Q	210E	211Y			

DEFINITIONS

A. The book of beginnings
192 44 38 80 108 160 172

B. My fruit is better than gold . . . and my ____ than choice silver.—Proverbs 8:19
207 52 133 82 203 138 155

C. A book of the New Testament
9 49 70 72 84 93 95 112 120 173

165 187 195 1 7 26 34

D. A bishop must be . . . a lover of ____. —Titus 1:7-8
41 37 90 166 110 115 121 179 5 77

83

E. Whatever things were written ____ were written for our learning.—Romans 15:4
60 20 193 139 134 169 171 117 210

F. Gideon and the hundred men who were with him came into the outside of the camp in the beginning of the ____ ____. —Judges 7:19
73 48 86 137 198 208 12 24 111 154

184

G. What the Lord answered Job out of
109 2 174 14 199 57 181 22 45

H. Be ____ afraid . . . saith the LORD.—Jeremiah 2:12
124 167 135 150 46 100 30 59

I. A minority group over whom the politicians lose little sleep
140 61 92 15 88

J. Thou that art . . . a ____ city, a joyous city. . . .—Isaiah 22:2
151 21 51 76 101 183 122 147 158 170

K. Paul told him: Let no man despise thy youth.
157 142 16 190 119 96 74

L. What Samson called his wife
176 3 144 53 102 126

M. Fret not thyself because of ____.—Psalm 37:1
185 148 62 114 23 206 105 54 39

N. A robber whom the multitude wanted released instead of Christ
4 69 159 106 98 141 175 200

O. Jesus . . . said unto her, "Woman, thou art loosed from thine ____."—Luke 13:12
36 18 75 71 168 25 89 145 129

P. An Old Testament book (Catholic but not King James)
81 202 188 78 178 63

Q. They ____ gold out of the bag.—Isaiah 46:6
91 180 209 99 19 152

R. An O. T. book that contains an example of poetic justice
97 162 123 196 94 65

S. The mountains shall drop ____ ____ and all the hills shall melt.—Amos 9:13
103 40 149 153 128 67 130 27 161

T. Ridiculously senseless, illogical, or untrue
118 6 177 164 79 47

U. A river in N. W. Mexico, flowing into the Gulf of California
136 29 31 113 127

V. The first Christian martyr
163 131 8 104 68 42 85

W. He removeth the speech of the ____ and taketh away the understanding of the aged.—Job 12:20
201 43 32 11 87 146

X. Peter . . . said unto him, "Though all men shall be ____ because of thee, yet will I never be ____."—Matthew 26:33
50 191 205 13 156 204 33 189

Y. English essayist and poet (1822-1888)
56 17 28 35 58 66 186 197 211 10

125 143 194

Z. Unscramble I SMOKE
64 132 107 116 182 55

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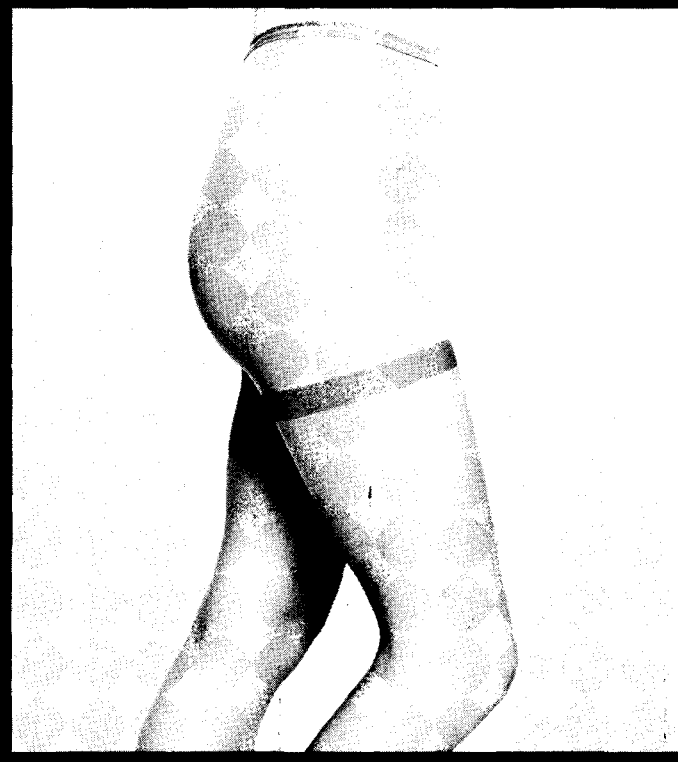

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